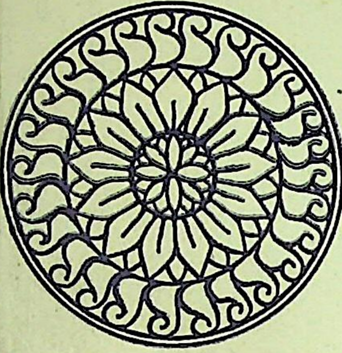
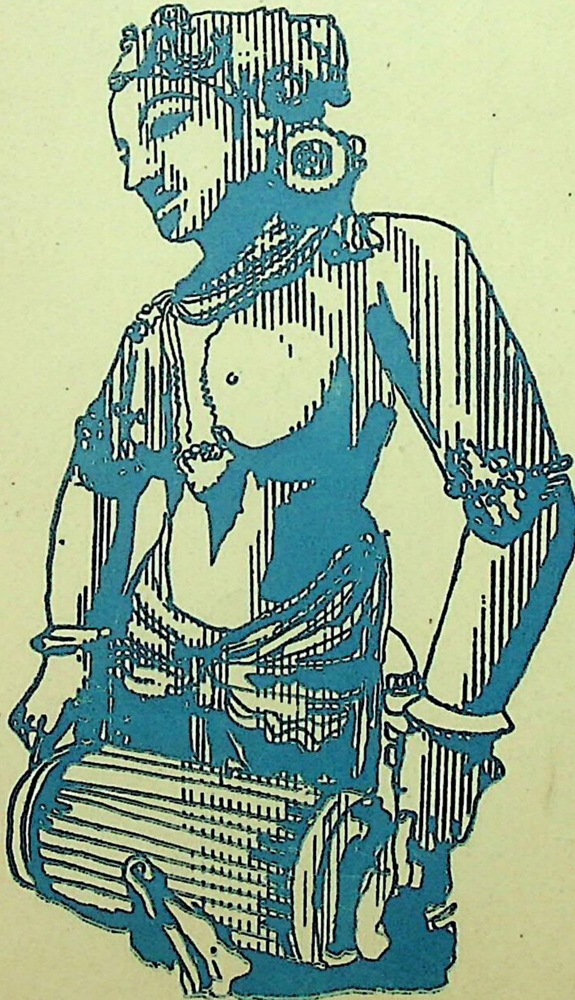
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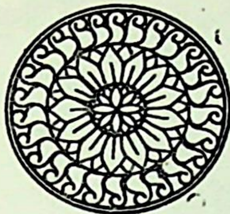
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G. C. Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. Phil.
Principal
Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha
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CONTENTS

AṄGA : ITS NAME AND EXTENT

DR. YUGAL KISHORE MISHRA

Bodh Gaya

The author tries to locate the kingdom of Aṅga on the basis of evidences culled from different literary sources.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the country was named Aṅga, because Madana (the Hindu cupid), being burnt by the anger of Śiva, had cast off his body in this region.[1] We come to know from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Madana fled from the hermitage of Śiva to escape his consuming anger and the region, where he cast off his body (*Aṅga*), has since been known by the name of Aṅga.[2] The hermitage of Mahādeva also has been known as Kāmāśrama. This Kāmāśrama was situated at the confluence of the Sarayū and the Gaṅgā. Local tradition points to Karon as being the place where Mahādeva performed penance.[3] There is a temple of Kām-eśvaranātha at Karon in Ballia district, opposite Buxar, across the Gaṅgā.

According to the *Mahābhārata,* Aṅga was established by king Aṅga after whose name it came to be known in the

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1. *Rām., Bāl.,* 23, 14.
2. *Rām.,* I, 32.
3. *J. A. S. B.,* 1914, 317-49 ; De. N. L., *Notes on Ancient Aṅga.*

early period. According to tradition, Titikṣu, the second son of mahāmanā, who was seventh in descent from Anu, founded the Anava kingdom in the east and named it after his ancestor. Asura king Bali had five Kṣetraja sons by Sudeṣṇa named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Śumba and they also formed five kingdoms. The *Purāṇas* also support the tradition of the *Mahābhārata* when they say that Bali had Kṣetraja sons who founded the kingdoms after their names.[4] Hiuen Tsang also confirms the *Purāṇic* tradition. He says, "At the beginning of this Kalpa, when men were homeless savages, a goddess came down from heaven, and after bathing in the Gaṅgā, became pregnant.[5] She bore four sons who divided the world among them, and built cities, and the first city was Campā".[6] According to the Buddhists, Aṅgas, the chieftains of Aṅga, were so called because of the beauty of their limbs.[7]

The *Mahābhārata* describes the people of Aṅga as Sujāti or of noble birth,[8] but in latter times journeys to Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra and Magadha are interdicted "except for religious purposes.[9]" After examining the above mentioned facts we reach the conclusion that in India the descendants and followers of a famous king have often been generally known by the name of the king. This has been particularly the case with the famous founders of dynasties. The descendants of Bharata were known as the Bha-

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4. *Vs.* IV, 18 ; *Mt.*, 48. 25 ; *Bh.*, IX, 25.

5. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* London, 1905, II, 181.

6. *Dīgha. Commentary,* I. 279.

7. *Ibid.*, 279.

8. *Mbh.*, II, 52.

9. *S. B. E.*, XVI, *Prāyaścitta Khaṇḍa*, 1.2, 13-14.

ratas and those of Kuru were known as the Kurus. Similarly the descendants of Aṅga were known as Aṅgas. The kingdom of the Śibis was founded by the king Śibi Auśīnara, the kingdom of the Videhas was founded by the king Videha, the kingdom of the Aṅgas was founded by the king Aṅga Valeya, and so on.

Thus it seems to be true about Aṅga that places, regions, or even countries are named either after distinguished heroes of war or place or the people inhabiting them.

EXTENT :

The ancient Aṅga country is supposed to have comprised the present Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts of Bihar excluding the parts lying to the north of the Gaṅgā. However, its limits have varied from time to time. Aṅga is said to have extended from Vaidyanātha up to Bhuvaneśa. Vaidyanātha is no doubt the same as Baidyanāthadhāma in the Santhal Parganas District, very near the southern frontiers of the Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts in Bihar. Bhuvaneśa reminds us of the celebrated Bhubaneśvara in the puri District of Orissa. The Natural boundary on the north was Gaṅgā and according to *Campeya Jātaka,*[10] the river Campā flowed between the states of Magadha and Aṅga and thus formed the western boundary of Aṅga. Taking the Campā as the western limit of Aṅga, we shall have to assume on the basis of its present course, that a major portion of the district of Bhagalpur was not under the Aṅgas, but under the Magadhas. The Aṅga territory seems to have comprised the portions of Santhal Pargana and Bhagalpur district. We have no authoritative evidence to determine its limit on the

10. *Jā.*, IV, 506, 454-468 : *Aṅga Magadha rattanam antare.*

south and the east. In the south-east of the Bhagalpur district, there is a place on the border of Bihar and West Bengal, called Teliagarhi, which was very important from the strategical point of view. In former days, armies would march from west to east through this pass of the Rajamahal hills.[11] This pass might have been the eastern limit of Aṅga, while on the south this state comprised the northern portion of the Santhal Pargana. But, according to George Birdwood, the districts of Birbhum and Murshidabad also formed a part of Aṅga.[12]

We have no evidence that at any time Aṅga expanded over such a large tract. If it is true, the Aṅgas must have risen to such an eminent position before the rise of Magadha. According to the *Mahābhārata* Aṅga may be supposed to have comprised the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr, and extended northwards up to the river Kosī. At one time the kingdom of Aṅga included Magadha and probably extended up to the sea.[13] It seems that the kings of Aṅga in those days expanded their territory in all directions. The *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*[14] describes Rājagṛha as a city of Ārya. The *Mahābhārata*[15] refers to a king of Aṅga who sacrificed on the mount of Viṣṇupada, which is probably the sacred hill at Gayā.

This goes to suggest that Magadha was at sometime or other under the suzerainty of Aṅga. We find Aṅga and Vaṅga forming one Viṣaya in the *Sabhāparva* of the *Mahā-*

11. Majumdar, R. C., : *History of Bengal,* Vol. II, 5-6.
12. *De,* N. L. : *G. D. A. M.,* I, 7.
13. *Mbh., Ādiparva,* C. IV, 4179ff.
14. *Jā.,* Vol. VI, No. 545, 225-329.
15. *Mbh., Śānti Parva,* 29, 35.

bhārata.[16] The *Kathā-saritsāgara*[17] mentions that Vithankapura was a city of Aṅga on the sea.

The commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* places Aṅga to the east of the Mahānadī.[18] It will be seen that Vaidyanātha dhāma is situated near the southern limits of the original Aṅga country, but Vaidyanātha may here indicate the district round the holy place, and the reference to Bhubaneśvara may point to the country's extension towards the Bay of Bengal. The verse appears to place Aṅga to the south of the Gaṅgā, and it must be admitted that there is no definite evidence indicating the extension of the Aṅga country to the north of that river.

According to some manuscripts of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* Vaidyanātha-Mahādeva lay in the *Jangal* (forest)—Jharikhanda country which was situated to the north of the Dārukeśvara river and to the west of the Bhāgīrathī between Pañcakūṭa (the former Pañcakoṭ State in the Manbhum District) and Kīkaṭa (the Gaya region in South Bihar).

We have great doubts in accepting Vaṅga as a part of Aṅga. In later times Vaṅga was a territory in the south-east corner of the United Bengal. The area now falls in Eastern Pakistan (Now Bangala Desh). As far as we know there was no territory called Vaṅga when the power of Aṅga was in the ascendancy. If the resources of such a vast dominion were at the disposal of the rulers of Aṅga, we do not find sufficient reasons for their defeat at the hands of Bimbisāra who was the chieftain of the then petty state of Magadha.

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16. *Ibid.*, II, 44.9.
17. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 25, 26, 35, 115.
18. *Kāmasūtra*, VI, 6.

From the *Rāmāyaṇa*[19] we gather that for some time the Aṅga kings either ruled the Kosī area (Kauśikī Kṣhetra) or had overwhelming influence in this region. The courtesans of Aṅga are said to have beguiled Ṛṣya Śṛṅga from his hermitage in this area and brought him to the Aṅga capital. It would be hardly possible to perpetrate such act in a foreign territory.

The Kauśikī Ksetra which lies to the north of Aṅga across the river Gaṅgā, was probably known as Anguttarapa[20] to Buddhist scholars. The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* Commentary[21] explains it as a kingdom of Aṅga, near the water, across the Gaṅgā. This makes it quite clear that the region to the north of the Gaṅgā was sometimes looked upon, as a part of the Aṅgadeśa. This Anguttarapa should thus be identified with the modern Purnea and Saharsa districts. A large part of these districts in our days remains submerged under water for the major part of the year. It is not improbable that the present condition prevailed in this area in the remote past and it is indicated in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* by the term Anguttarapa, "the waters to the north of Aṅga."

Thus it would not be surprising if the Aṅga territory extended on both the banks of Gaṅgā. The modern Saharsa district was formerly the northern part of the Bhagalpur district, from which it was separated only a few years back.

Magadha, which seems originally to have been a vassal of Aṅga, apparently threw off the yoke of servitude from its

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19. *Bāl.*, Ch. 10.

20. *Saṃyutta.*, Vol. II, 437, 439.

21. *Ibid., Anga eva so Janapado, Gangaya (Mahamahi Gangaya) Pana ya Uttarena apo, tasmā aviduṛe.*

neck, sometime in the first half of the sixth century B.C., but was later invaded by Bimbisāra.[22] The Aṅgas could not stand before the rising power of Magadha and their territory was permanently annexed, and a prince from Magadha ruled over Aṅga with its capital at Campā.[23]

Although Aṅga had no separate existence after the sixth century B.C., the later literary works very often refer to the kings of Aṅga. This is probably because the early ruler of Aṅga[24] had once wielded a great deal of influence, which found expression in the works of scholars of the later centuries. The *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* gives a fanciful boundary of the Aṅga country.[25] The description seems quite as exaggeration to suggest that Aṅga ever extended to such a distance as to comprise modern Bhuvaneśvara. It may be that the divisions of the countries in the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* are based on some special geographical terminology of Śaktism. On the other hand this passage may simply represent the echo of the ancient glory of the king of Aṅga. Although the kingdom of Aṅga had become an integral part of the Magadhan empire, the region long retained its separate identity and we find it often mentioned in the inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the early 12th century it was under the sway of Mahana, the maternal grandfather of Kumāra Devī, the wife of Govindacandra of Kanauj, who was king Rāmapāla's viceroy in Aṅga.[26]

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22. *S. B. E.*, XVII, 1 ; *Pariśiṣṭaparva*, VII. 22.
23. *Niryavalisūtra*, 3 ; *J. A. S. B.* (1914), 321.
24. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII, 2 ; *Samantam Sarvataḥ Pṛthivīm Jayam.*
25. *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Ch. VII, 16.
26. Majumdar, R. C., : *History of Bengal*, I, 165-166.

Thus after a close study of the facts supplied by different sources, we may conclude that the kingdom of Aṅga comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and extended northwards up to the Kosi river and included western portions of the district of Purnea. It also included some parts of modern Santhal–Parganā of Bihar. We have already mentioned above that Aṅga had also extended its supremacy over Magadha. We learn from the *Śāntiparva* that an Aṅga king sacrificed at Mount *Viṣṇupada* and thus it appears that the Aṅga kingdom at one time included Magadha; Brahamadatta, the Aṅga king, defeated Magadha and conquered Rājagṛha.

EARLY INDIAN EDUCATION (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CLASSICAL AGE)

by

S. K. MAITY

Calcutta

The author throws light on ancient Indian system of education and educational institutions. He also discusses the topics like the subjects of study, eligibility for study and teacher-taught relations randomly.

India had a very old tradition of literature, culture and education. The Vedic poems were composed by the inspired sages (Ṛṣis) as early as the fifteenth to the sixteenth century B.C.[1] The Vedas consist of sacred hymns and historical poems and ballads; and later on the new branches of learning, such as metaphysics (Upaniṣads), mathematics and natural sciences enriched the field of Vedic education.

At first there was no restriction on the teaching and learning of Vedas by the warriors and others. But later the priestly class (the Brāhmaṇas) claimed that the sacred literature was the spoken word of God, and in the absence of written books, only the select few were competent to pass it on without distortion. Thus, with the rigidity of the caste system, the Brāhmaṇas became the only teachers not only of the Vedic subjects but also of the non-Vedic studies preparing for military and commercial careers.

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1. Louis Renou, *Vedic India*, Calcutta, 1957, 10.

The scope of our present study is rather limited and we like to confine ourselves to the above subject from cir. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D. For its source materials, we have to depend on the Epics, Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, literary works and foreign accounts.

To understand the historical perspective of the early Indian education, we have to trace it from the Indus Valley age. The semi-pictographic writings on the numerous seals from Mohenjodaro and Harappā undoubtedly indicate the literacy of the makers of that civilization and their knowledge about reading and writing.[2] But we do not know practically anything about their system of education.

A regular system of education was, however, introduced by the early Vedic Indians. The Vedas and other subjects were orally instructed by the teachers to their students.[3] The student-life generally started at the commencement of the Upanayana ceremony and ended with the convocation ceremony. The courses of study commenced from the beginning of the rainy season. Most noteworthy feature of education was that it started from the religious background and individual teacher (*Guru*) was responsible for imparting education. Thus, every Āśrama of a Ṛṣi was a residential school. Several branches of studies were also cultivated. Eight different schools are referred to in the Purāṇas,[4] viz., (1) Agnisthāna (place of fire-worship), (ii) Brahmasthāna (place of Vedic learning), (iii) Viṣṇusthāna (place of learning polity, economics and

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2. *The Cambridge History of India* (Vol. I, suppl. volume).

3. *R. V.* VII, 103.

4. R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, Reprint, Delhi, 1974, 333.

information). (iv) Mahendrasthāna (place for learning art of warfare). (v) Vivasvatsthāna (astrology). (vi) Somasthāna (Botany). (vii) Garuḍasthāna (place for learning transport and other communication), and (viii) Kārttikeyasthāna (place for learning the parade of soldiers and the art of warfare). It, thus, shows that the field of education had been gradually extended in such a way that it was quite impossible for a single individual to acquire mastery over too many subjects. The scope for specialization became evident.

In course of time, early Indian society gradually centred round the so-called four castes and the lot of the untouchables. Consequently education became caste based, a development that had taken place in the later Vedic and the Epic period. The Kṣatriyas (the warrior caste) were expected to devote their sole attention to learning the art of warfare and science of government. They did not bother about Vedic and Purāṇic studies. They were only satisfied with their knowledge of the "Three R's". But the duty of the Brāhmaṇas was to study and teach, to sacrifice, and to give and receive gifts. Like the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas had some general knowledge; but their chief function was to breed cattle, till the earth, pursue trade and to lend money. According to Manu (1. 88), the duty of the Śūdras was to serve the three upper classes, and their education was fashioned away in that way. There were also a lot of untouchables and out-castes in the society and they were not expected to receive any education. Despite caste restrictions the relationship between the tutor and the taught was mostly cordial and this was a salient feature of the residential system of education in a teacher's (*Guru*) house in ancient India. Side by side with this system, there were some famous educational institutes, such as in Taxila, Banaras

and Kanchi in the south; Ujjayini became another centre in the later period. The great grammarian Pāṇini, Kauṭilya (alias Cāṇakya) and Caraka were alumni of the Taxila University.

Simultaneously, with Buddhism and Jainism, each monastery (Vihāra) became a centre of learning and education. Their instruction included "giving of recitation, holding examination, making exhortation, and explaining Dhamma".[5] There was also scope for specialisation in different branches of the Buddhist and Jaina cannons. Besides helping the spread of religious education in India, the monasteries often sent their teachers to the foreign countries. During the second, third and fourth centuries the foreign monks who came to China devoted most of their time to the translation of Buddhist cannons. At least twenty-five Indian monks were engaged in this work before the time of Fa-hien, and such scholars made an important contribution to the cultural exchange between India and China. From the beginning of the second down to the end of the fourth century A.D., according to existing records, more than two hundred monks came to China from the Buddhist countries to translate Buddhist sūtras.[6] The most famous among the seat of learning in India was the Buddhist monastery at Nalanda. It was founded by the patronage of the Imperial Guptas;[7] and it became the most flourishing university under the fostering care of Harṣavardhana, until it was pillaged by the Muslim invaders in the Middle Ages.

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5. *Cullavagga* (of *Vinaya Piṭaka*), VIII, 7, 4.
6. Fa-hien, *A Record of the Buddhist countries,* Peking, 1957, 6.
7. A. L. Basham, *Wonder That Was India,* 164.

Teacher-Student Relation :

As stated in the Smṛtis and other literature, the student-teacher relationship was always cordial. The Chinese pilgrim, I-Tsing in the seventh century A.D. has noticed the same feeling; and the same spirit was maintained even in the Tols, Maqtabs and Madrasas in the much later period. The relation between the teacher and the taught was just like a father and a son. In order to keep up that spirit Yājñavalkya[8] recommends that the students must be grateful, not inclined to hate or prove false to his teacher, happy and not disposed to find fault. They should always be dependent and under the control of their teachers. It is further supplemented by Nārada[9] who states that the students should stay only with their teachers. The Smṛtis,[10] at the same time, recommend that just like the sons, the disobedient students must be punished physically. In such cases, the teacher might refuse food to them. Nārada adds that the beating should be on the back only and never on the head or on the chest, and it should not be excessive.[11] The student-teacher relationship is further explained by the Chinese pilgrim, I-Tsing[12] who states that the pupil served his teacher by folding his clothes, sweeping the apartment and the yard, providing drinking water and nursing him in his illness. On his part the teacher not only taught him but

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8. Yāj. : I. 28.

9. *Nār.* : VIII, 8-9.

10. *Āp. Dh. Sū.* I, 2, 8, 29-30 ; *Gaut* : II, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25 ; 48-49 ; *Viṣṇu*, Ch. XXVIII, 5-22, 71, 81-82 ; *Śaṅkha*, III, 12.

11. *Nār.* VIII, 13-14.

12. A Record of the *Buddhistic Religion as practised in India and Malay Archipelago, by I-Tsing*, oxford 1896 (By Takakusu, J. A.) 117–120.

also took care of his physical and mental health and in his illness he served him like his father. Throughout his student life in the house of a teacher, a student was expected to lead the life of a Brahmacārī, and pay due homage and respect to his teacher (*Guru*)and other superior members of the latter's household.[13] Śārṅgarava, Śāradvata and Kautsa are praised for their obedience to their teacher and for their hospitality, which was regarded as an important virtue.[14] Disciples carried the seats (a tiger's skin or a black buck's skin). In most cases the respectful service of the student was considered as fees of teacher; but in some cases the teachers charged fees from their students.[15] According to Kālidāsa, knowledge imparted to a good pupil does not cause repentance;[16] and an art imparted to a deserving pupil improves itself.[17] The teaching of the dullard sharpens the intellect of the teacher.[18] Finally Gaṇadāsa says that instruction is good only when it stands the test in the presence of wise men, as gold is tested by means of fire;[19] and also that knowledge is to be esteemed for its own sake.[20] He is also a trader in learning who uses it only for earning his bread.

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13. *Śaṅkha,* III, 12 ; *Viṣṇu,* XXVIII, 11, XXXVII, 5, 13, 14 ; *Nārada,* VIII, 8.

14. *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam,* I, 74 ; 784.

15. *Manu,* II, 140 ; *Śaṅkha Saṃhitā,* III, 1.

16. *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam,* IV, 46.

17. *Mālavikāgnimitram,* I, 35.

18. *Ibid.* I, 113.

19. *Ibid.,* II, 28.

20. *Ibid.,* I, 116.

Some Centres of Study:

Between cir. 300 A.D. and 600 A.D. quite a large number of Indian religious teachers went to China.[21] Besides their religious preaching, they translated a good number of Buddhist texts into the Chinese language. They hailed from Kashmir, Udyana, Gandhara, Ujjayini, Benaras and from other parts of India.[22] These places were, thus, the centres of Buddhistic and Sanskritic learning.

As we have already noted, every Buddhist and Jaina monastery (Vihāra) was a centre of religious as well as secular learning and culture. Here, we can refer to the account of the famous Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, who has given a long list of monasteries which were apparently centres of religious and secular education. Udyana, Suvastu, Gandhara, Taxila, Puruṣapura, Nagarahāra, Mathura, Samkasya, Kanyakubja, Kosala, Jetavanavihāra, Kapilavastu, Ramagrama, Kushinagara, Vaisali, Pataliputra, Rajagriha, Gaya, Varanasi, Kausambi,Champa and Tamralipta were most famous among them.[23] Fa-hien visited India during the reign of Candra Gupta II; but the famous monastery at Nalanda, which he has not mentioned, was established by the patronage of the later Imperial Guptas. Buddha Gupta, Tathāgata Gupta, Narasinha Gupta, Bālāditya and others were its patrons. According to tradition recorded by Tārānāth, Nalanda was the birth place of Sāriputta whose *Caitya* was seen by Aśoka; Nalanda gradually became famous after the rise of the Mahāyāna system of Buddhism.[24] By

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21. R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, 602–606.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Fa-hien's *A Record of the Buddhist countries*, 15–77.
24. R. K. Mookerjee, *op. cit.*, 557.

the end of the fourth century A.D. the popularity of Nālandā-Mahāvihāra as a centre of religious education and culture reached far and wide and Nalanda attracted scholars from different parts of India and abroad. Ācārya Nāgārjuna and his pupil Ārya Deva from the South had been at Nalanda for a long time. Their contemporary Suviṣṇu erected 108 temples for conservation of *Abhidharma Piṭaka.* At about 400 A. D. the famous Buddhist Logician, Diṅnāga was invited by the university to a polemical discussion with Brāhmaṇa Sudurjaya and his associates.[25] Gradually, Nalanda became famous for its magnificient establishment and its manifold intellectual and vocational training. According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang,[26] in the later period Śakrāditya, his son Buddha Gupta, his successor Tathāgata Gupta, his successor Bālāditya, his son Vajra and others were the early Imperial patrons of this great centre of learning and because of their substantial help and support, Nalanda became an attractive residential university.

In the opinion of Hiuen-Tsang,[27] the University of Taxila was noted for its school of medicine, that of Ujjain for astronomy and that of Benaras for orthodox Brahmanical learning. But the greatest and the most celebrated of all these universities was that of Nalanda. Although it was a great centre of Buddhist learning, its comprehensive course of study included, the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, philosophy, grammar, Śabda-vidyā, Hetu-vidyā, Yoga-śāstra, Logic, Upnișad, Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstras, Itihāsa-Purāṇas, Medicine,

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25. *J. A. S. B.,* Vol. I, N. S. 227 ; *Vide* R. K. Mookherji, *op. cit.,* 558.

26. Watters, *Hiuen-Tsang's travel,* II, 164-165 ; *Ep. Ind.,* XX, 43.

27. Watters' tr., Vol. I, 160—171.

Mathematics, the so-called sixty-four arts, etc. Here, the standard of education was very high and applicants for admission had to pass a very stiff oral test. Although many students came from abroad, very few of them qualified themselves for admission in advanced course of study. Very strict discipline was enforced and any student could be expelled for indiscipline or irregular conduct. Hiuen-Tsang himself was a student at this University for five years, learning different branches of knowledge, especially the Mahāyāna doctrines and philosophy. During his stay there were ten thousand students (or brethren) at Nalanda of whom one thousand were proficient in the ten works of the Sūtras and Śāstras; five hundred in thirty works, ten only, including Hiuen-Tsang himself, in fifty works. Śīlabhadra, a master in every work, was the head of the university. Other famous teachers of this Institute were Jñānacandra, Dharmapāla, Candrapāla, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Prabhāmitra and Jinamitra. The students passed "day and night" in study and discussion, "juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection." Lectures on various topics were delivered to them from about 100 pulpits every day, and these were so important that the students did not miss them "even for a minute". The name and fame of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra had attained such proportions that "those who stole the name (of Nālandā Brother) were all treated with respect wherever they went".[28] In this residential university all the students enjoyed free board and lodging and no tuition fee was charged.

In the post-Gupta period, Harṣavardhana became its great patron. He spent a fourth of the revenue from the crown lands for rewarding great scholars. At Nalaṇda, by

28. *Ibid.*

the side of the main building of the university, he erected another hundred feet high magnificent house and dedicated it to the university. He also "remitted the revenues of about 100 villages" for supplying clothes, food, bedding and medicine to the resident students.[29]

Ujjayini was another great centre of learning and Brahmanical culture. It was, perhaps, the home of the great poet Kālidāsa who is believed to be the Court-poet of Candra Gupta II Vikramāditya. After the Śaka war Candra Gupta II took a keen interest in the all-round development of this ancient city and he was also proud of assuming the title of *Ujjayinī-Puravara-Adhisvara.* Another great centre of learning and culture was Valabhī Mahāvihāra. Princess Duḍḍā, a daughter of the sister of Dhruva I, had erected a vihāra there! Subsequently (580 A.D.) another vihāra was constructed by King Dharāsena I.[30] Through royal favour the Valabhī Mahāvihāra was equipped with good library. Both I-Tsing and Hiuen-Tsang spoke very highly of its teachers and its systems of teaching.

Education and Educators:

The literary account of Kālidāsa and others speak very highly of the education and literary accomplishments of the royal princes. In the Allahabad stone-pillar inscription, Samudra Gupta is eulogised as a "King of poets (*Kavirāja*)".[31] Moreover, if we believe that Candra Gupta II was no other than the legendary Vikramāditya whose court was graced by

29. *Ibid.*

30. Cf. *The Grant of King Guhasena of Valabhi,* Indian Antiquary, IV, 174.

31. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, 1.

"the nine gems" including Kālidāsa, there is no doubt that Candra Gupta II himself was a man of education and culture. Similarly, the Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena II is believed to have composed *Setubandha-Kāvya* in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛta.[32] In the later periods also many of the kings and princes were good writers and poets. For instance, Harṣavardhana wrote *Nāgānanda, Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī*.

The princesses of the royal families and the daughters of nobles were not slow to imbibe the education and culture of the day. As pointed in the literary texts, they were also proficient in the art of reading, writing, singing, dancing and the like. Mālavikā of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram* was well-trained in the art of singing and dancing,[33] and the wife of the exiled Yakṣa of *Meghadūta* was a good lute player.[34]

Literary evidences suggest that educated men and women even spoke Sanskrit very well. We find the kings, ministers, high officials, hermits, generals, kañcukīs, heralds, charioteers, stage-managers (or *sūtradhāras*), actors and dancing-masters conversing in Sanskrit. A disciple, who had not made much progress in his studies, would converse in Prākṛta.[35] On the other hand we find in *Śakuntalā* and in the other works of Kālidāsa, Vidūṣakas, the gate-keepers, the king's brother-in-law (who is the chief police-officer) the constable, the fisher-man, the children and women speaking Prākṛta. Those who used Prākṛta could, however, follow conversation in Sanskrit. Priyamvadā could even get a

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32. *The Classical Age,* 182.
33. *Mālavikāgnimitram,* II.
34. *Meghadūta,* I, 23.
35. *Śakuntalā,*–Prelude to Act III.

Sanskrit śloka by heart.[36] Even ladies like Kauśikī were highly educated and spoke Sanskrit. The Vidūṣaka gives her the epithet Paṇḍitā.[37] She is not only learned but also a tactful lady. Even the king and the chief queen used to seek her advice.

Kauśikī is a good critic of dancing and music. She points out that the science or theory of singing, dancing and acting depends mainly on its application.[38] Praising Mālavikā's dancing she comments that her gesture and postures are highly expressive, the movements of her feet are harmonious and that the sentiment she wants to convey, engrosses her completely. Kauśikī is also acquainted with the art of medicine.[39] Her theory of education is also interesting. She says that there are some teachers who, though highly learned are incapable of imparting their knowledge to their pupils. Again there are others who though not very learned are highly efficient in communicating their learning to their pupils. But he who possesses great learning and capacity for instruction is to be esteemed most among all teachers.[40]

In the Classical Age the ladies of the royal household received their education and culture in every possible way. Besides general education, they had to learn various arts for which experts were brought from other parts of the country.

The prevalence of early marriage in society adversely affected women's education in general. Vātsyāyana, how-

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36. *Ibid.*, IV, 50.
37. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, V. 18.
38. *Ibid.*, 1.99.
39. *Ibid.*, IV, 49 ; (cf. also, *Raghu.*, I, 23) .
40. *Ibid.*, 1.112.

ever, recommends that the princesses and the daughters of noble families should have knowledge in *Kāmasūtra* and in other sixty-four arts (kalās); and the house-wife must have fair knowledge of the family budget and daily expenses.[41] Literary evidence suggests that ladies of aristocratic families and even the hermit girls knew the art of reading and could write poems, letters and had sufficient knowledge of the Epics, Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras. Śakuntalā was an adept in the art of composing letters to her lover,[42] and her friend Anasūyā and Priyamvadā knew history (*itihāsa*), drawing and painting.[43] There are numerous such references in Sanskrit literature attesting to the accomplishment of women in ancient India.

Regarding other educators of this period, we have good literary and epigraphic evidences. Hariṣeṇa, the minister of war and peace of Samudra Gupta, composed the famous Allahabad Praśasti which is also a very good piece of literature. The Mandasora inscription of Kumāra Gupta I and Bandhuvarman, written by Vatsabhaṭṭi, is regarded as another piece of literary creation. Thus, from a good number of the Gupta inscriptions, we can conclude that the art of prose writing and the kāvya style had already reached maturity in the hands of the panegyrists of that age. The legends on the coins also were written in rythmical style.

In the seventh century, Hiuen-Tsang was impressed by a class of wandering "bhikṣus" (religious beggars) who accumulated wisdom in course of their constant travel. Possessed of a deep-rooted religious education they could not be temp-

41. *Kāmasūtra,* 1, 3, 12, 16; IV, 1, 32.

42. *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam,* I.

43. *Ibid.,* IV.

ted to forsake the path of knowledge even by the lavish gifts and honours of kings and princes. However, in this period the hay-day of the Buddhist and Jaina monasteries, excepting Nālandā Mahāvihāra and a few others, was slowly passing. It was gradually supplanted by a revival of the old Brahmanical education and culture. In course of time the caste system became more and more rigid. Education became gradually restricted mainly to the Brahmanical and other higher classes of the population. There were the Śūdras, other out-castes born of inter-marriages and violation of strict Brahmanical discipline, the untouchables and tribal people who were completely debarred from education other than their own profession. Moreover, the practice of child marriage adversely affected female education. Although education came to be restricted to a certain class of people, the great Brahmanical education and culture remained uninterrupted throughout the ages despite foreign invasions of the later period.

NALODAYA AND ITS AUTHOR

Dr. B. C. Srivastava

Kanpur

The author supports the view of A. S. Ayyar that the author of *Nalodaya* is identical with Vāsudeva—the author of *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya, Śaurikathodaya* and *Tripuradahana* kāvyas and corroborates it with further evidences derived from an old commentary on *Nalodaya* preserved in the University Library of Trivendrum.

Nalodaya is a short Yamaka Kāvya in four cantos; it describes the marriage of Nala and Damayantī, their separation and liberation from Kali[1]. The Chief aim of the author is to display his erudition in manipulating the most varied and artificial metres as well as all the elaborate tricks of style, exhibited in the decadent period of the Sanskrit Literature. Enchanted by the excellent ingenuity of the author, W. Yates compares the work with 'Persius in Latin or Pindar in Greek'. Further he remarks "In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the *Kumārasaṃbhava*, the *Māgha*, the *Naiṣadha*, the *Kirātārjunīya*, and the *Bhaṭṭi*, the entire circle of Sanskrit epic poetry, and by no means a small one, there cannot be found four consecutive books of equal difficulty with these four of the *Nalodaya*"[2].

But it is astonishing to note that even after such marvellous qualities the authorship of this work still lies in

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1. Edited by F. Benery, Berolini 1830; Jagannatha Sukla, Calcutta 1870: W. Yates, Cal. 1844, Jivanand Vidyasagar, Cal. 1896.

2. Introduction to the *Nalodaya*, 11.

oblivion.[3] For a pretty long time the work was believed to have been written by Kālidāsa[4] but now with the confirmation of the existence of three Kālidāsas it has been evinced that the author of *Nalodaya* must have been quite different from the famous poet of Ujjain, who wrote *Raghuvaṃśa* and *Śakuntalā*[5].

In the year 1884 Professor Peterson came across a manuscript of *Nalodaya* with a commentary of *Rāmarṣi* (A.D. 1608) which attributes its authorship to a certain poet named *Ravideva*[6]. Winternitz and Vadakkunkur Raj

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3. In view of its queer style A. S. Ayyar believes it to be the last work of Vāsudeva, the author of *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya.* See *Nalodaya and its author,* in J. of the Mythic Society, (JMS) Bangalore, XIV (4), 309.

4. R. G. Bhandarkar Report 1883-84, 16

5. एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित्।
श्रृंगारे ललितोद्‌गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु॥
(Jalhaṇa–*Sūktimuktāvalī*)

See Mr. K. P. Trivedi's article in *Indian Antiquary* 1916, 147.

6. इति वृद्धव्यासात्मजमिश्ररामर्षिदाधीच्यविरचितायां रविदेवविरचित-
महाकाव्यनलोदयटीकायां नलराज्यप्राप्तिर्नाम चतुर्थ आश्वासः—
JBRAS, Extra No. 1887, 337.

Some mss. mention it to be a work of Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa–*Bhandarkar Or. Research Institute Catalogue,* Kāvya section, XIII (1), No. 306; Tanjore Library No. 3811. In some mss. it has been recognised to be the work of Keśavāditya which is wrong. Keśavāditya is a commentator and not the author. *Op. cit.* No. 307, 309 and Peterson's report of the operations in search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Circle III, 395.

See also : Winternitz–*History of Indian Literature,* III, 65, Raj Raj Verma–*Keralīya Sanskrit sāhitya caritam* ; I, 161 ; *Authorship of Nalodaya–JRAS* 1925, 263–75; *Nalodaya and its Author, JMS,* XIV, 302–11; *Nalodaya–A Further Note, JMS,* XVI, 134.

Raj Verma too endorse this opinion which was later refuted by Ayyar with the support of sufficient logic and reasoning. His points may be summarised as under :—

1. The style of this Kāvya proves its author to be identical with the author of *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*. Because no one can be able to indulge in composing the poem in such a matured and turse style unless he has already attained proficiency by writing other poems of this kind.

2. The name of the ruler, Rāma has invariably been mentioned in *Śaurikathodaya* (1.6), *Tripuradahana* (1.9) and *Nalodaya* (1.5). Although the word 'Rājāditya' occuring in *Nalodaya* (1.8) is somewhat confusing yet a Keralite commentator Viṣṇu has supported the opinion of Ayyar by explaining it to be a name of Rāma, used after coronation—*sā rājādityena saha vartamānā rājāditya ityamuṣyaivābhiṣeka prayuktaṃ nāma*/

3. In addition to it Sri Ayyar discovered mss.[7] which ascribes the authorship of this work to a certain poet, Vāsudeva, son of Ravi.

Ravitanubhūyamitāyāḥ kṛtergatiśśabdacitrabhūyamitāyāḥ /

janahāsāya mitāyāḥ dhiyaśca vivṛtā mayādhunā yamitāyāḥ //

The same commentary adds a further important colophonian note that Vāsudeva was the author of the work—

7. Travancore Palace Library 1795, 1796.

iti nalodaye vāsudevakṛte caturthaḥ paricchedaḥ /

4. Ravideva is a hypothetical personality. The transcriber has inadvertently written Ravideva instead of Ravisūnu or it may also be presumed that in original ms. the word might have been *Ravivāsudeva* but the transcriber has missed the two letters *vāsu* resulting which it is now read as Revideva.

"Thus it can be assumed that Vāsudeva was the real author of the *Nalodaya* and that neither Kālidāsa nor a hypothetical Ravideva had anything to do with its composition[8]." Zachariae[9] and Keith[10] accept Ayyar's view while Kunjunni Raja is doubtful.[11]

Dr. Carl Sunesson upholds the view of Ayyar but in his opinion "the best way to test Vāsudeva's authorship of the *Nalodaya* is to make a careful linguistic analysis of the text and compare it with Vāsudeva's other works". He has pointed out a few linguistic similarities between the *Nalodaya* and *Śaurikathodaya* as under :—

1. In *Nalodaya* (1.2) occures the rare word *nā* and similarly it is used in *Śaurikathodaya* (3.30).

2. In *Nalodaya* (1.3) the word *nunnam* (pushed away) is used to express the killing of Śakaṭāsura and the same is used in *Śaurikathodaya* (1.21) to describe the same event.

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8. *The Authorship of Nalodaya, JRAS* 1925.

9. *Zur Frühgeschichte der Sanskrit Philologie,* IV, 225.

10. *History of Sanskrit Literature,* 98.

11. "Still it has to be remembered that Vāsudeva's authorship of the *Nalodaya* can be accepted only tentatively as it does not stand on any decisive evidence" *'The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature",* 23.

3. In *Nalodaya* (1.11) occures the perf. form *āra* from *ṛ* which is quite common in *Śaurikathodaya*.
4. In *Nalodaya* (2.4) occures the rare word *Rahaṇa* (sorrow) which is equally used in *Śaurikathodaya*[12] (5.48).

The above cited fragments of the thesis emphatically attribute the controversial poem (*Nalodaya*) to Vāsudeva, the son of Ravi. Although the lucid and charming style of the poet used in other works like *Yudhi.*, *Tripur.* and *Śauri.* gives rise to doubt in accepting this conclusion[13] yet a number of illustrated arguments can be furnished to allay the same ; viz.—

1. The reason for avoiding the intricate composition of Yamaka like *Nalodaya* in other works does not prove the incompatability of Vāsudeva but indicates to an entirely different motivation. Nevertheless, the use of Yamaka in the beginning, middle and end of biquarters of the verses which are very common in *Nalodaya,* is also seen in *Yudhi.* For example :—

Ṛtau babhurniśāhvayā vibhā vibhā vibhā vibhāḥ /
kalāśca teṣu satpate radā radā radā radāḥ//
Nalo. 2.8

caturambudhimadhyagatā jagato
paramā paramā paramā paramā /
api pāṇḍusutā gahane vipine
madhurā madhurā madhurā madhurā[14]*//*
Yudhi. 3.113

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12. See unpublished thesis of Carl Sunesson, Stockholm University, Sweden, introduction, 20.
13. Raj Raj Verma–*ibid.*, I, 161.
14. For more examples see 2.12, 16, 56.

Besides this, the presence of a more complicated sub-kind of Yamaka i.e. pādāvṛttiyamaka in *Yudhi.* equates the author with the author of *Nalodaya.*[15] At several places the sub-kinds of Madhya,[16] antyādi,[17] ādyantayamaka[18] etc. have also been displayed like in *Nalodaya* which prove both the authors to be identical.

2. As regards the style of description, *Nalo.* and *Yudhi.* etc. possess adequate similarities like other poems of the author. *Nalodaya* also begins the main story with an Avyaya 'Atha' after the benediction and the eulogy of the popular ruler Rāma in introductory verses.[19] The descriptions of spring-season, watersporting, sun-setting, moon-rising, drinking parties, sexual pleasures etc. in *Nalodaya* (II canto). are also similar in style to those of *Yudhi.*, *Śauri.* and *Tripura.* Kāvyas.[20]

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15. अथ पार्थशिलीमुखकृत्तगलैर्नगराजनिभैरवनी चपला
सुरवैरिगणैः ससमुद्रसरिन्नगराजनि भैरवनीचपला ॥ युधि० 4.95

बलद्वयी च विस्तृता समुद्रसम्पदन्तदा।
चकार संयुगाजिरे समुद्रसम्पदं तदा । (6.152)

सुखेन नागसाह्वये पुरे वसन्सभारतः ।
ररक्ष गां पुरूरवाः पुरेव सन्स भारतः। 8.105
also 7.141–42.

16. *Yudhi.* 6.109; *Nalo.* 2.2.

17. *Yudhi.* 8.103.

18. *Nalo.* 2.4; *Yudhi.* 8.104.

19. अथ निजराज्यन्तेन प्राशासि नलेन शत्रुराज्यन्तेन।
येनाराज्यन्तेन श्रिया दिशो यस्य विहतिराज्यन्तेन।
Nalo. 1.10

cf. with *Yudhi.* 1.11; *Tripur.* 1.11; *Śauri.* 1.8.

In *Tripur* (2.11) the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha explains—
अथशब्दः प्रमेयारम्भार्थः ।

20. *Yudhi.* 2.41–118; *Śauri.* 2.32-51; *Tripur.* i. 63–72.

3. A comparative study of the forms of various declensions and conjugations also attributes its authorship to Vāsudeva. A conspicuous feature of Vāsudeva's language is the frequent occurrence of the rarely used 3rd pers. sg. aor. pass. forms,[21] which is abundantly found in *Nalodaya*. Moreover, occurrence of rare words mentioned earlier like double *na na* to express affirmation, definitely allay the doubt about its authorship.

4. A careful examination of metres, used in *Nalodaya* also supports our conclusion. It is noteworthy that in the end of all the cantos of *Nalodaya*, like other poems, the only metre *pramāṇikā*[22] has been used.

5. There is a very old commentary on *Nalodaya* named *Kavihṛdayadarpaṇa* of Śrīkaṇṭha, son of Ācārya Śrīkaṇṭha, preserved in the University Library, Trivandrum (Ref. 1021), which in its beginning and colophon, clearly mentions Vāsudeva as an

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21. The forms have been recorded by Dr. Carl Sunesson in his thesis (unpublished) on page 39.

22. प्रमाणिका जरौ लगौ— *Vṛttaratnākara* 3.17

स्वयंवरादनन्तरं मही महीमहीनधीः।
ररक्ष नैषधस्तदा रराज राजराजराः॥ *Nalo.* 2.62

उभावपि प्रभाविनौ दिवीव सुप्रभाविनौ
चिरं रिरंसयोषितौ सरित्तटे सयोषितौ। *Yudhi.* 2.118.

उभावपि प्रभू ततः प्रभूततः प्रहर्षतः।
अतीव वत्सकौ तु कौ स कौतुकौ विजह्रतुः॥ *Śauri.* 2.54.

वबन्धुरेव बन्धुरे स्ववर्त्मनि स्थितिं जनाः
पिनाकिनापि नाकिनाममोदि मोदकारिणा *Tripura.* 2.61.

author of the work.[23] Being an inhabitant of Malabar, his statement appears to be reliable.

"Atha śrīmān mahākavi maheśvaro vāsudevanāmā vāsudevānusmaraṇapūrvakaṁ praṇininīṣitaprabandha-pratibandhakṛntanāya prathamavidheyapratiṣṭhātmikāṃ namaskriyāṃ tāvadanutiṣṭhati" /

"iti śrīkaṇṭhācāryaputreṇa śrīkaṇṭhena kṛte nalodaya-vyākhyāne kavihṛdayadarpaṇākhye caturtha āśvāsaḥ / / *vāsudevamahākavaye kāvyanirmātre namo namaḥ"* / /

nalodayāhvayasyāsya vyākhyā kāvyasya nirmitā /
śrīkaṇṭhācāryaputreṇa śrīkaṇṭhena manīṣiṇā / /

Thus, the controversy about the authorship of *Nalodaya* may be closed with the conclusion that like other works, viz. *Yudhi*. etc. Vāsudeva is the author of *Nalodaya* also.

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23. Mr. Pillai quotes this commentary in his introduction to *Tripura*, 1. It is surprising that the scholars like Ayyar could not notice this gloss.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN DAṆḌIN'S TIME

MAAN SINGH

Simla

Light has been thrown in this paper upon the conditions in the different fields of society viz., the Government, varṇāśramas, education, marrīage, religion, mode of living, food and drinks and fine arts etc., during the age of Daṇḍin as depicted in his *Avantisundarī* and *Daśakumāracarita*.

Daṇḍin flourished from the second half of the seventh to the first half of the eighth century A.D.[1] The following lines are aimed at surveying the social conditions in his time as delineated in his prose romance AVANTISUNDARĪ (inclusive of both the extant *Avantisundarī* and *Daśakumāracarita* proper).[2]

Monarchical was the form of government in Daṇḍin's age; but monarchy was expected to be benevolent and liberal to the subjects. Daṇḍin exalts the ideal of kingship to impracticable heights. The time-table[3] prescribed for a

1. Vide for details the author of these lines : *Subandhu and Daṇḍin,* Meharchand Lachhamandas, Delhi 1979 pp. 29—39.

2. In the opinion of the author of these lines, the extant *Avantisundarī and Daśakumāracarita* proper are two fragments of the Daṇḍin's long prose romance originally named AVANTI-SUNDARI Vide his paper. दण्डिविरचित 'अवन्तिसुन्दरी' तथा 'दशकुमारचरित' —एक ही कृति के दो भाग : अभिनव प्रमाण, *Prācya Prajñā,* Aligarh, 1972-73; *op. cit.,* pp. 76—84.

3. Vide *Daśakumāracarita (DKC)*, ed. Narayana Rāma Acarya, 15th ed., NSP, Bombay; 1951, 259, line 1; p. 261, line 2. It should be noted here that Daṇḍin has followed Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* very closely in detailing the time-table of a king. Cf. *Arthaśāstra,* I. 19.

king justifies the dictum 'uneasy lies the head that wears the crown'; but that it was literally followed by a king, is hardly credible. Ministers were appointed to assist the king in the task of the government. Spy-system was current; and kings used to send their spies in the disguise of ascetics, etc., to know the secrets of other kingdoms. It is Rājahaṁsa's spy in the guise of an ascetic who brings the news that King Mānasāra of Mālava sold the *mahāmāṁsa* at the Mahākāla temple to please god Āmardaka and the god has blessed him with an invincible sword to conquer him (Rājahaṁsa); and that he (Mānasāra) has made up his mind to attack his might[4]. There were kings like Anantavarman who, guided by bad counsellors like Vihārabhadra, set at naught all dicta of politics and indulged in enjoying all sorts of worldly pleasures; but such kings were bound to loose their kingdoms.[5]

The military art was well-developed. The army comprised four branches : chariot-riders, elephant-force, cavalry, and infantry. The principal weapons used in fight were bows[6] and arrows,[7] swords,[8] small swords,[9] discs,[10] iron staffs,[11]

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4. *Avantisundarī* (AS), Anantaśayana-granthāvalī, No. 172, Trivandrum, 1954, p. 38, lines 1—18.

5. Cf. *DKC.*, p. 257, line 2 ; p. 270, line 20.

6. *AS.*, p. 32, line 9 (इषुधि) p. 96, lines 4 (कार्मुक), 16 (शरासन) p. 159, line 14 (चाप), p. 168, line 19 (वाणासन) line 228, line 3 (कोदण्ड)

7. *Ibid.*, p. 32, lines 6 (शर), 9 (वाण) p. 65, line 5 (नाराच) p. 104, line 13 (सायक)

8. *Ibid.*, p. 8, line 11 (खड्ग) p. 38, line 14 (निस्त्रिंश) p. 44, line 11 (खड्ग); p. 240, line 20 (असि)

9. *Ibid.*, p. 172, line 6 : *DKC.*, p. 101, line 2 (कृपाण) ;p. 98, line 3 (कौक्षेयक)

10. *AS.*, p. 109, line 16; *DKC.*, p. 73, line 3 (चक्र)

11. *Ibid.*, p. 73, line 4 (कणप)

spears,[12] lances,[13] pestles,[14] sticks,[15] hammers,[16] slings,[17] pikes,[18] daggers,[19] clubs,[20] hatchets,[21] and huge stones studded with iron spikes.[22] Soldiers put on armours[23] so as to protect their bodies from injuries. Fights were very fierce.

To run the government well, there were departmental heads and their staff. Police, guards, and village officers[24] were kept to maintain law and order in cities and villages. Police patrolled at night; but thieves and rogues succeeded in giving them a slip quite often.[25] Daṇḍin mentions four types of settlements : (i) *nagara,* a city, generally the principal town of a province or kingdom; (ii) *grāma,* a village; (iii) *kharvaṭa,* a small town having a market-place and a moat around it; and (iv) *puṭabhedana,* a trading town having trade by land-routes or sea-routes.[26]

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12. *AS.,* p. 97, line 19(शक्ति, तोमर); p. 107, line 3 (कुन्त); *DKC.* p. 73, line 4 (प्रास, तोमर)
13. *Ibid.,* p. 73, line 4 (पट्टिश)
14. *AS.,* p. 109, line 17; *DKC.,* p. 73, line 4 (मुसल)
15. *AS.,* p. 109, line 17 (दण्ड)
16. *Ibid.,* p. 109, line 16 (मुद्गर)
17. *Ibid.,* p. 109, line 17 (भिण्डिपाल)
18. *Ibid.,* p. 109, line 18 (शूल); p. 159, line 14 (शूलि-)
19. *Ibid.,* p. 109, line 18 (पत्र)
20. *Ibid.,* p. 42, line 10 (गदा)
21. *Ibid.,* p. 7, line 16; p. 109, line 18 (परशु)
22. *Ibid.,* p. 109, line 17 (शतघ्नी)
23. *Ibid.,* p. 96, line 4 (कवच)
24. For village officers (*grāmaṇīs*) vide *DKC.,* p. 164, line 12.
25. Cf. *ibid.,* p. 101, line 1 ; p. 102, line 4, where Apahāravarman is described as befooling the policemen.
26. *Ibid.,* p. 218, line 9.

Offenders were awarded severe punishments. Traitors[27] and thieves[28] were sentenced to death with severe tortures. By the special privilege given to them, the Vaiśyas were not deprived of their lives, though they could be exiled on the charge of theft,[29] etc. The offence of a culprit was announced in the public before execution.[30] When secret love-affair with a princess was exposed, the lover's life was doomed.[31]

The duties of class (*varṇadharmas*) were maintained in accordance with the rules laid down by such law-givers as Manu.[32] The Brāhmaṇas were entitled to the highest respect and were considered the gods on the earth.[33] Some rogues belonging to the Brāhmaṇa class could take undue advantage of this privilege to cheat the public and even the kings. Pāñcālaśarman, a Brāhmaṇa cheat, is described by Daṇḍin as cheating King Dharmavardhana in order to secure his beautiful daughter named Navamālikā for Pramati.[34]

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27. Siṁhaghoṣa orders that the eyes of Kāmapāla, accused of traitorship, should be put out in such a way as to cause his death (vide *ibid.*, p. 179, lines 3–5; p. 181, lines 7–12).

28. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 112, line 1 (तस्करवद् वध्य:)

29. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 116, lines 7–10.

30. See *ibid.*, p. 181, lines 6–12.

31. *Rājavāhana,* found in the chamber of Princess Avantisundarī, is ordered to be killed with seven tortures (cf. *ibid.*, p. 66, line 8 ; p. 67, line 4). Kāmapāla is led to the gallows because of his secret relation with Princess Kāntimatī (*ibid.*, p. 172, line 6 ; p. 173, line 7).

32. *Ibid.*, p. 254, lines 4-5 (मनुमार्गेण प्रणेता चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य).

33. *Ibid.*, p. 248, line 11 (दानेनाराधितवरणितलतैतिलगण:)

34. *Ibid.*, p. 202, line 12 ; p. 206, line 8.

All the stages of life (āśramas) were given their due importance. The life of a householder (*gṛhasthāśrama*) was assigned the highest importance,[35] because its responsibilities were far greater than those of the other stages and it rendered help to the persons of other stages. Ascetics were held in high esteem and were known for their supernatural powers. Some cheats could deceive others assuming the guise of ascetics, as the narratives of Mantragupta and Viśruta show.

The education in Daṇḍin's time included the study of the *Prātiśākhyas*, the *Dhanurveda*, historical works, the *Āyurveda*, phonetics, etymology, grammar, rituals, metrics; such *Dharmaśāstras* as those of Manu, Vasiṣṭha and Gautama; the *Arthaśāstras* like those of Uśanas, Bṛhaspati, *Viśālākṣa* and Bāhudantaka; the *Kāmasūtras* recognized by Bābhravyāyana and others, trade and agriculture, logic and metaphysics.[36] Men of the warrior class were required to possess a profound knowledge of politics. People studied the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Bṛhatkathā, Setubandha* and *Kādambarī* with great interest in his days.[37]

As to the marriage system, marriages were generally settled in one's own caste (*varṇa*).[38] Marriage could be settled in near relations. One could marry one's maternal cousin, which is still prevalent in southern India. Daṇḍin describes Śūdraka as marrying Yajñadā, daughter of his

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35. *AS.*, p. 195, lines 1–2 (न चान्यदस्ति गार्हस्थ्याद् गरिष्ठम् । गृहाश्रमो हि शेषाश्रमाणां विश्रमद्वारैश्च..... ।)

36. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 204, line 20; p. 205, line 5.

37. This is suggested by Daṇḍin's statement that these works were popular among the citizens of Kusumapura (*ibid.*, p. 20, lines 8–12).

38. Cf. *DKC.*, p. 221, line 1 (काञ्चिल्लक्षणवतीं सवर्णां कन्यां दृष्ट्वा)

maternal uncle,[39] and Arthapāla as marrying Maṇikarṇikā, his own maternal cousin.[40] Viśruta espouses Mañjuvādinī,[41] and we know that the former's father and the latter's mother had their maternal grandfather in one and the same person.[42] Intercaste marriage of the *anuloma* type were also in vogue. In Daṇḍin's prose romance, we find that Somadatta, son of King Rājahaṁsa's priest, marries a Kṣatriya princess, Vāmalocanā, daughter of the King of Pāriyātra;[43] Pramati, son of Rājahaṁsa's minister Sumati, marries Navamālikā, daughter of King Dharmavardhana of Śrāvastī;[44] Mitragupta, son of the minister Sumitra espouses Kandukāvatī, daughter of the king of the Suhma country;[45] Kāmapāla falls in love with and marries Kāntimatī, daughter of King Caṇḍasiṁha of Kāśī,[46] and in his previous births as Śaunaka and Śūdraka[47] he took as his beloveds the Kṣatriya maidens Bandhumatī and Vinayavatī[48] respectively; and Kāmapāla's son Arthapāla makes princess Maṇikarṇikā, daughter of Caṇḍaghoṣa of Kāśī, his bride. We come across an instance of the marriage between a Kṣatriya man and a Vaiśya women. Thus King Kusuma-

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39. This fact is known from the *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, IV, 198 (ed. G. Harihara Sastri, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras 1957), which summarizes Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarī*.

40. *DKC.*, p. 187, line 4 ; p. 188, line 6 ; p. 189, lines 3–4.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 273, lines 14–15; p. 277, lines 16-17.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 271, line 14.

43. It is known from the *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, VII, 43.

44. Vide *DKC.*, p. 202, line 12; p. 206, line 8.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 235, lines 17-18.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 172, lines 6–8; p. 176, lines 5–9.

47. *ASKS.*, IV, 154.

48. *Ibid.*, IV, 186.

dhanvan of Kosala is described to have married Sāgaradattā, daughter of a merchant Vaiśravaṇa of Pāṭaliputra.[49] We also find an instance of the intercaste marriage of the *prati-loma* type. Thus Sumantra's son Mantragupta, a Vaiśya, marries the Kṣatriya maiden Kanakalekhā, daughter of King Kardana of Kaliṅga.[50] We do not hear about any case of early marriage; but at one place we find that a youth named Śaktikumāra about eighteen years of age thinks of choosing a suitable bride for him.[51] Sexual life was guided by such works as the *Kāmasūtra.* Sometimes people forced their new brides for sexual gratification, which could spoil mutual relation.[52] The husband was considered the highest deity for a woman, especially for that of a noble family.[53] Poly-gamy was prevalent ; and co-wives were jealous of each other. The wife, especially that of a noble family, followed her husband in death by self-immolation. Thus we find that Queen Vasumatī determines to put an end to her life by entering fire when she thinks her husband, the wounded King Rājahaṁsa, to be dead,[54] and so does Suvratā when she does not find her parted husband for a long period.[55] But the cases of Kalpasundarī and Dhūminī[56] show that illicit love-intri-gues with persons other than their husbands were not un-known among some married women; and that sometimes

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49. *DKC.*, p. 271, lines 12–14.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 251, lines 5-6.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 220, lines 14–16.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 227, lines 11–13.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 228, lines 14-15 : पतिरेव दैवतं वनितानां, विशेषतश्च कुलजानाम् ।

54. Vide *AS.*, pp. 128–133.

55. *ASKS.*, VI, 40.

56. Kalpasundarī flirts with Upahāravarman and Assists him in killing her husband Vikaṭavarman (vide *DKC.*, *Ucchvāsa* III).

they got their husbands done to death for the sake of their paramours. Maidens could meet their lovers secretly without the knowledge of their parents. Women, separated from their husbands, lived a life of austerities, refrained from good costumes and put on clothes of black colour, used no cosmetics, arranged their hairs into a single braid,[57] and worshipped goddess Ambikā for reunion with their husbands.[58] Daṇḍin has not presented any picture of a widow; but it seems that if they did not follow their husbands in death, they had to live a life of severe austerities.

The birth of a male child was considered necessary for a family. The birth of several daughters could bring misery to the parents.[59] Proper religious rites were performed for the safety of the pregnant mother and the child in the womb and for the safe birth of the child on an auspicious hour. Great festivities were held when a male child was born.[60]

Dhūminī gratifies her sexual appetite forcibly with a man of mutilated limbs and pushes her husband Dhanyaka into a well. She, thereafter, takes the man on her shoulder and obtains great reputation as a chaste lady and also manifold honours. Vide for the full story *ibid.*, p. 218, line 1; p. 220, line 10.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 196, line 9; p. 197, line 1 : कापि रविकराभितप्तकुवलय... दामतान्ताङ्गयष्टिः, क्लिष्टनिवसनोत्तरीया, निरलक्तकरूक्षपाटलेन निःश्वासोष्मजर्जरितत्विषा दन्तच्छदेन वमन्तीव कपिलधूमधूम्रं विरहानलम्, अनवरतसलिलधाराविसर्जनाद्रुधिरावशेषमिव लोहिततरं द्वितयमक्ष्णोरुद्वहन्ती, कुलचारित्रबन्धनपाशविभ्रमेणैकवेणीभूतेन केशपाशेन नीलांशुकचीरचूडिकापरिवृता पतिव्रतापताकेव सञ्चरन्ती, क्षामक्षामापि देवतानुभावादनतिक्षीणवर्णावकाशा सीमन्तिनी...।

58. *Ibid.*, p. 198, lines 13–16.

59. Cf. *AS.*, p. 11, line 20; p. 12, line 3 : स तस्यामनेकदुहितृजन्मजातोद्वेगशान्तये तन्तुमेकं दण्डिनामानमविन्दत।

60. Vide *ibid.*, p. 158, line 3 ; p. 165, line 19 for religious rites and festivities on the occasion of the conception and the birth of Prince Rājavāhana.

Prostitution formed a powerful class and had royal protection.[61] Prostitutes were well-trained in arts and in their profession.[62] Their chief aim was to strip their paramours of their wealth by showing fake love for them.[63] Some of them were of noble character and wanted to follow the course of life of a woman-of-family.[64] People sometimes kept them in their houses. Thus we find that Apahāravarman accepts Rāgamañjarī, the virtuous sister of the wicked courtesan Kāmamañjarī, who wants to be given only for merits and not for wealth;[65] Śaktikumāra keeps a harlot in his house;[66] and Kośadāsa has profound love for his devoted beloved Candrasenā, who belongs to the family of prostitutes.[67] They had access to the royal court.[68] Association with a prostitute was, however, a matter of ill fame for a man of a noble family.[69]

Śaivism was the popular cult in Daṇḍin's time. The Mahākāla temple of Ujjayinī was the greatest centre of

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61. Cf. *DKC.*, p. 111, line 8 ; p. 112, line 1.

62. Daṇḍin puts a detailed account of the breeding, education, and professional tricks of prostitutes into the mouth of Mādhavasenā, mother of the courtesan Kāmamañjarī (Vide *ibid.*, p. 80, line 4—p. 84, line 4.).

63. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 83, lines 4-5 (निमित्तनैमित्तिकप्रीतिदायकतया हृतशिष्टानां गम्यधनानां चित्रैरुपायैरपहरणम् ।)

64. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 111 line 11 (कुलस्त्रीवृत्तमेवाच्युतमनुतिष्ठासति ।)

65. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 111, lines 10-11 (अतिक्रम्य स्वकुलधर्मंमर्थनिरपेक्षा गुणेभ्य एव स्वं यौवनं विचिक्रीषते।)

66. *Ibid.*, p. 227, line 2 (नीत्वैतदनपेक्षः कामपि गणिकामवरोधमकरोत् ।)

67. *Ibid.*, p. 208, line 9 ; p. 209, line 5.

68. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 89, line 9—p. 90, line 12.

69. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 209, lines 2—4 (...यस्त्वमुत्तमात्सार्थवाहादर्थदासादुत्पद्य कोशदास इति गुरुभिरभिहितनामधेयः पुनर्मदत्यासङ्गाद वेशदास इति द्विपद्भिः प्रख्यापितोऽसि ।)

worship.[70] The worship of goddess Vindhyavāsinī was prevalent, as we have several allusions to her and her worship.[71] Guha was also worshipped and temples were erected therefor.[72] The worship of Viṣṇu was also in vogue and images were established. Daṇḍin himself saw an image of Viṣṇu on the seashore, the arm of which was refitted by Lalitālaya. He worshipped Viṣṇu by the methods prescribed in the *Kalpa*[73] in order to understand the mystery of the transformation of a lotus into a Vidyādhara and then his disappearance. People believed in the existence of previous births and in the doctrine of *karman*. Many of Daṇḍin's stories are based on the doctrine of rebirth and *karman*. There were monasteries of the Jains; and the Jain and Buddhist nuns were also known; but both Jainism[74] and Buddhism were looked down upon. The Jain and Buddhist nuns are represented as working as procuresses in love-intrigues and even as attached to courtesans.[75] Nitambavatī's story shows

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70. It is this temple at which Mānasāra sells the *mahāmāṁsa* (*AS.* p. 38, line 13). Queen Mālāvatī worships Śiva with a view to getting a child (*ASKS.*, VII, 43-44); and Somadatta comes with his bride Vāmalocanā to worship the god in order to overcome the disease which has befallen him (*ibid.*, VII, 48).

71. Vide *AS.*, p. 39, lines 11–13; p. 127, lines 10–11; p. 135, lines 10-11; p. 174, lines 1–4; *DKC.*, p. 273, lines 9-10; p. 277, lines 8-9.

72. *AS.*, p. 156, line 17; p. 157, line 7. Queen Vasumatī is described as resorting to a temple of Guha and as offering worship.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 17, lines 5-6.

74. Daṇḍin puts bitter remarks against Jainism into the mouth of Vasupālita (*DKC.*, p. 94, line 4; p. 95, line 5).

75. The Jain nun named Arhantikā, pleased with the gifts of covering clothes of corpses and other things, helps the rogue Kalahakaṇṭaka in trapping Nitambavatī, wife of the merchant Ananta-

that there were Śākinīs also, who attained supernatural powers by devouring flesh of corpses dragging them from pyres in cemeteries.[76] The narrative of Mantragupta tells us of a magician, probably a Kāpālika,[77] fierce in appearance, as performing sacrifice at night in a cremation ground and ready to offer Princess Navamālikā as a victim.[78] Human offering to favourite deities also prevailed among the lower strata of society. A group of Kirātas is described as making a present of the child Upahāravarman to goddess Vindhyavāsinī for the removal of pestilence.[79] People could resort to gods for the justification of adultery, as we find in the case of Upahāravarman, who is told by Gaṇeśa of the propriety of his love for Kalpasundarī, wife of King Vikaṭavarman.[80] The temples and the names of the deities were also used by scoundrels to perpetrate a successful fraud. Viśruta uses both the temple and the name of goddess Durgā to play a fraud for his protégé's restoration to power.[81]

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kīrti of Ujjayinī (*ibid.*, p. 232, line 2 ; p. 233, line 5.). The Buddhist nun Dharmarakṣitā is the chief go-between of the courtesan Kāmamañjarī. It is through her that Apahāravarman succeeds in securing Rāgamañjarī, younger sister of Kāmamañjarī (*ibid.*, p. 112, lines 5—10).

76. *Ibid.*, p. 233, line 21 ; p. 234, lines 1, 4-5.

77. Cf. V. M. Karambelkar : *Magic Ritual in Sanskrit Fiction,* Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad Feb.–Aug., 1950, pp. 126-127.

78. *DKC.*, p. 237, line 6 ; p. 238, line 3.

79. *AS.*, p. 173, line 16 ; p. 174, line 7. Vide also *ASKS*, III. 107—112.

80. For the struggle of Upahāravarman's conscience and the confirmation of the property of his love for the queen vide *DKC.*, p. 151, line 5 ; p. 152, line 6.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 273, lines 8—16; p. 277, lines 3—15.

People set out for long pilgrimages. Dāmodara, Daṇḍin's own great-grandfather, started on a pilgrimage to make atonement for the sin he had committed by taking meat which was not the residue of the offerings made to gods in a sacrifice;[82] the sage, who hands over the child Upahāravarman to Rājahaṁsa, returns from his pilgrimage to the holy Ganges;[83] and the Brāhmaṇa named Kīrtideva, who brings the child Devarakṣita to the King, makes a pilgrimage to Kumārī in the southern country.[84]

Belief in supernatural beings and several superstitions were prevalent in the society. Among the supernatural beings, Yakṣas played an important role. Arthapāla is said to have been the son of the Yakṣiṇī Tārāvalī in his previous life when she was born as Āryadāsī.[85] The Yakṣas were considered the most powerful. People were afraid of them. In Daṇḍin's prose romance, we find that siṁhaghoṣa does nothing against Kāmapāla as long as the latter's wife Tārāvalī lives with him.[86] Some beauteous women were believed to be possessed of Yakṣas. We hear rumours that Princess Kanakalekhā is possessed of a Yakṣa; and consequently Jayasiṁha, king of Āndhra, does not succeed in winning over her love.[87] Similarly, there is a rumour about Bālacandrikā that she is possessed of some spirit.[88] Besides, we see a magician, probably a *Kāpālika,* who performes human sacrifice in order

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82. *AS.,* p. 10, lines 7—10; *ASKS.* I. 24-25.
83. *Ibid.,* p. III 95. In the *Avantisundarī,* the text is missing.
84. *AS.,* p. 193, lines 12-13.
85. *DKC.,* p. 175, lines 5-6.
86. *Ibid.,* p. 178, lines 1-2.
87. *Ibid.,* p. 243, lines 8—10.
88. *ASKS.,* VI. 69.

to attain supernatural powers.[89] Nitambavatī's story points to the belief in witches.[90] The belief in sorcery and magic is also referred to. Thus a policeman attempts to remove snake-poison from the body of Apahāravarman, who feigns to be bitten by a snake, through his charms, rites and concentrations.[91] Arthapāla succeeds in controlling snake-poison in the body of his father Kāmapāla by dint of his charms.[92] Nitambavatī believes that a sorcerer can free her husband from the bad influence of a planet (*graha*), and if she strikes him on the chest with her foot consecrated by the sorcerer, he will gain strength and vigour to be able to beget a strong child on her.[93] It was also believed that the worship of Guha could provide the devotee with a child.[94] Queen Vasumatī and the Śabara maid Vindhyasenā are described as having resorted to the temple of Guha and as getting sons by the grace of the god. People had faith in the supernatural powers attained through asceticism. Apahāravarman approaches sage Marīci to seek information about his friend, Prince Rājavāhana.[95] King Jayasiṁha believes, without any hesitation, in the supernatural powers of the pseudo-ascetic Mantragupta and thinks that the latter can bestow on him supernatural handsomeness so as to enable him to bewitch the heart of Princess Kanakalekhā and also to obtain sovereignty over the world.[96] Vikaṭavarman believes that his

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89. Vide *DKC.*, p. 237, line 2 ; p. 238, line 3.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 234, lines 4-5.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 101, line 11 ; p. 102, line 3.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 183, lines 5-6.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 232, line 11 ; p. 233, line 1.
94. The temple of Guha is said to be a resort of people who desired progeny (*AS.*, p. 156, line 20 : अपत्यसाधनम् ।)
95. *DKC.*, p. 78, lines 5—7.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 244, line 13 ; p. 248, line 5.

queen Kalpasundarī can bestow on him a divine form through sacrifice.[97] The efficacy of dreams is also asserted. Thus Apahāravarman trusts the propriety of his love for another's wife established by god Gaṇeśa, who appeared to him in a dream.[98] Tārāvalī is said to have been cursed by a spirit in a dream.[99] People are described to believe the dream of Queen Vasundharā and to act accordingly.[100] People believed that chaste women had supernatural powers, and none dared oppose them.[101]

People wore silken[102] and cotton[103] clothes. The rich put on mostly the silken garments. The China silk[104] was also in use. The costumes included generally the upper and lower garments. Turban[105] was also in vogue. The dresses called *kañcuka*[106] and *vāravāṇa*[107] are also mentioned. Women, separated from their husbands,, did not use fine clothes and put on ordinary germents of black colour.[108]

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97. *Ibid.*, p. 161, line 6 ; p. 162, line 11.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 151, line 10 ; p. 152, line 7.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 197, line 10.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 273, line 8 ; p. 274, line 5.

101. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 274, lines 1–5 (अहो माहात्म्यं पतिव्रतानाम्।... योऽस्याः पतिव्रतायाः शासनमतिवर्तते स भस्मैव भवेत्।)

102. *AS.*, p. 62, lines 2 (दुकूल), 3 (कौशेय), *DKC.*, p. 74, line 3 (पट्टनिवसन) p. 75, line 8 (क्षौम)

103. *AS.*, p. 62, lines 4 (कार्पासिक)

104. *Ibid.*, p. 29, line 8; p. 62, line 4; p. 64, line 9 (चीनपट्ट)

105. *Ibid.*, p. 56, line 18 (उष्णीष)

106. *Ibid.*, p. 35, line 1.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 64, line 12. For distinction between the dresses *kañcuka* and *vāravāṇa* vide V. S. Agrawala : हर्षचरित : एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन, Bihār Rāṣṭrabhāṣā-Pariṣad, Patna, 1953, pp. 150-51.

108. Cf. *DKC.*, p. 196, lines 10 (क्लिष्टनिवसनोत्तरीया), 14 (नीलांशुक-चीरचूडिकापरिवृता)

The bark-garment (*valkalavastra*)[109] was used by hermits. We have also a reference to the strip of cloth worn over the private parts.[110] Some of the Jain monks did not wear clothes at all.[111] People were fond of wearing ornaments of various kinds. Men adorned themselves with such ornaments as earrings,[112] armlets, bracelets, necklaces,[113] finger-rings,[114] pearls[115] and crest-jewels.[116] Kings wore diadems also.[117] The neck-ornament for a child is also mentioned.[118] The garlands of flowers were also used as a means of adornment.[119] Of the ornaments used by women, Daṇḍin speaks of the ornament for the head,[120] the gold-chain ornament called lalāṭika worn on the forehead,[121] the earrings,[123] necklace,[122] the ear-ornament called *dantapatra*,[124]

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109. *AS.*, p. 143, line 4 (धौतवल्कलवसनोत्तरीय–)
110. *DKC.*, p. 94, lines 4 (मलमल्लक),7 (कौपीन)
111. *Ibid.*, p. 94, lines 5—7.
112. *AS.*, p. 61, line 12 (कर्णमुद्रिका)
113. *Ibid.*, p. 64, line 12 (हेमाङ्गदवलयरत्नहारदीधितिस्तबकचित्रवारवाणेन बाणदेवनाम्ना सामन्तपुत्रेण....). Vide also p. 98, lines 13, 14, for the mention of the necklace, armlets and earrings (हारकिरीटकेयूरकुण्डल–)
114. *Ibid.*, p. 185, line 9 (अंगुलीयक)
115. *Ibid.*, p. 63, lines 9-10 (प्रतिमुक्तमौक्तिकप्रायसकलभूषणः)
116. *Ibid.*, p. 57, line 3 (चूडामणि) p. 114, line 16 (शिखामणि)
117. *Ibid.*, p. 89, line 10; p. 172, line 9 (मुकुट) p. 98, line 14 (किरीट)
118. *AS.*, p. 61, line 11 (बालकस्य कण्ठाभरणम्)
119. *DKC.*, p. 125, line 9.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 243, line 11 (शिखण्डभूषण)
121. *Ibid.*, p. 30, line 14.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 198, line 13; p. 163, line 17; *DKC.*, p. 68, line 8 (हार)
123. AS., p. 163, lines 15-16 (कुण्डल)
124. *Ibid.*, p. 6, line 9; p. 30, line 13.

armlets,[125] bracelets[126] the girdle[127] and anklets.[128] These ornaments were generally made of gold, pearls, gems and corals. Ladies used blossoms for hair-dressing.[129] The lotus-flower was worn by them to adorn their ears.[130] As to cosmetics, they used incense to make their hair fragrant,[131] inscribed leaf-painting with cosmetics on their breasts,[132] applied saffron paste to them,[133] decorated their faces with scroll-work decoration known as *patrāṅguli*[134] and dyed their feet with the sap of lac.[135] The drawing of lines of painting on face and person with coloured unguents and cosmetics, known as *viśeṣaka,*[136] was also in vogue. Sandal paste[137]

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125. *Ibid.*, p. 26, lines 6 (अङ्गद) p. 241, line 11 (केयूर)

126. *Ibid.*, p. 34, line 1 (वलय) p. 241, line 11 (पारिहार्य)

127. *Ibid.*, p. 6, line 2; p. 34, line 2 (काञ्ची); p. 37, line 2 (रशना); p. 61, line 9 (मेखला)

128. *Ibid.*, p. 26, line 6; p. 162, line 1(तुलाकोटि), p. 11, line 9; p. 163, line 14, (नूपुर)

129. *Ibid.*, p. 163, line 14 (कुसुमदामधम्मिल्लबद्धबन्ध–); *DKC.*, p. 60, lines 3-4 (कुसुमचन्द्रकशारेण मधुकरकुलव्याकुलेन केशकलापेन)

130. *AS.*, p. 6, line 8 (श्रवणेन्दीवराणि); p. 33, line 14 (कर्णकुवलयैः)

131. *Ibid.*, p. 132, line 18 (धूपय केशपाशम्)

132. *Ibid.*, p. 113, line 6 (कमलमाधवीकुचकलशगलितकालागुरुपंकपत्रभङ्ग-सङ्क्रान्तिचित्रे) p. 133, lines 1-2 (चित्रवति कुरु पत्रभङ्गैः पयोधरकलशापिदन्तनुदयित-कामितं रक्तचन्दनम्...)

133. *Ibid.*, p. 18, line 15 (न हि न ह्यधिकोऽप्यसि वधूनां कुचतटेष कुङ्कुमपङ्कः)

134. *Ibid.*, p. 4, line 1 दिगङ्गनामुखे पत्राङ्गुलिरिव सकलोज्ज्वलवर्णशोभिनी...) On *patrāṅguli* vide V. S. Agarwala : "*Palace-Architecture in Daṇḍin's Avantisundarī*", Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, vol. XIII, No. 4, June, 1964, p. 332.

135. *AS.*, p. 6, lines 14-15 पादपङ्कजरागावधीरिता रुजेव च पदे पदे पतन्ति पिण्डालक्तकरसाः।

136. *Ibid.*, p. 36, line 15. (अविरलधर्मवारिवर्षदूषितविशेषकन्यासम्)

137. *Ibid.*, p. 28, line 20 (सुरभिचन्दनरसेन कृतसमालम्भनः)

and saffron powder[138] were smeared by persons to their bodies. Widows would not have used any ornament or cosmetics. Ladies in separation also did the same, and arranged their hair in a single braid.[139] It cannot be said that all used costly ornaments and cosmetics. The poor would have certainly used ordinary things, and not the precious ones.

We also come to know of food and drinks taken at that time. Of the cereals, Daṇḍin mentions rice,[140] wheat,[141] barley,[142] coarse grain (*śyāmāka*),[143] millet[144] and the wild rice grown without cultivation (*nīvāra*).[145] The wild rice was used by the forest-dwellers. Green vegetables[146] and the pulse of beans[147] were also used. The other things taken with food were clarified butter (*ghṛta*),[148] milk,[149] curd spiced with cinnamon and cardamom,[150] butter-milk,[151] sour

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138. *Ibid.*, p. 35, lines 2-3; p. 37. line 5 (कुङ्कुमाङ्गराग–)

139. Cf. *DKC.*, p. 196, lines 10–14.

140. *AS.*, p. 196 line 10 (व्रीहि;) *DKC.*, p. 224, lines 3, 7, 9 (तण्डुल) The cooked rice (ओदन) is also referred to (*ibid.*, p. 255, line 12; p. 258, line 15.).

141. *AS.*, p. 18, line 3 ; p. 83, line 21 ; (गोधूम)

142. *Ibid.*, p. 83, line 21; p. 196, line 10 (यव)

143. *Ibid.*, p. 83, line 21.

144. *Loc. cit.* (प्रियङ्गु)

145. *Ibid.*, p. 228, line 4.

146. *DKC.*, p. 225, line 2 (शाक)

147. Daṇḍin mentions the horse bean (माष) vide *AS.*, p. 156, line 5; p. 196, line 10.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 83, line 19; *DKC.*, p. 225, lines 3, 13.

149. *AS.*, p. 4, line 10 (in दुग्धजलधि)

150. *DKC.*, p. 225, line 13 ; p. 226, line 1 (दध्ना च त्रिजातकावचूर्णितेन)

151. *Ibid.*, p. 226, line 1 (कालशेय).

gruel,[152] scum mixed with salt and fumigated with perfumes,[153] sauce,[154] emblic myrobalan,[155] tamarind[156] and condiments.[157] Meat was also taken; but the Brāhmaṇas could not take it unless it was the residue of the offerings made to gods, otherwise they had to undergo expiation to get rid of the sin.[158] Wine was taken by lovers on the love-making occasions.[159] People were fond of chewing betel-leaves[160] and used a casket for keeping them.[161]

Daṇḍin speaks of cultivation.[162] Trade and commerce was far advanced and was centralized in the hands of the Vaiśyas. Caravans of merchants moved from place to place for the purpose of trade; but sometimes they were attacked by robbers,[163] who robbed them of their goods. Sea-trade was extensively carried out. Potapa had a long voyage over the Mahodadhi and landed at Andhakaccha with a merchan-

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152. *Loc. cit.* (काञ्जिका)

153. *Ibid.*, p. 225, lines 5-6 (सलवणसम्भारं दत्ताङ्गारधूपवासं च...)

154. *Ibid.*, p. 225, line 13 (सूप)

155. *Ibid.*, p. 225, line 3 (आमलक) A Chutny was prepared of the emblic myrobalans (*ibid.*, p. 225, lines 6-7 : आमलकंश्लक्ष्णपिष्टमुत्पलगन्धि कृत्वा...)

156. *Ibid.*, p. 225, line 3 (चिञ्चाफल)

157. *Ibid.*, p. 225, line 13.

158. Cf. *AS.*, p. 10, lines 7—9.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 71, lines 20-21 (वीरपानमिव कामिनीसैन्यं मधु पपौ रतिरणाय)

160. *Ibid.*, p. 29, line 5; *DKC.*, p. 200, line 3 (ताम्बूल)

161. *Ibid.*, p. 200, line 3 (उपहस्तिका)

162. Vide h's allusions to the fields of grain in the Magadha country (*As.*, p. 18, lines 3—6). Moreover, he mentions the female guards of the fields of paddy (*ibid.*, p. 32, lines 10-11 : (अचकितमुक्तमञ्जुलप्रतिशात्कारशासितास्वनुमन्यमानकलमकणिशभङ्गासु कलमगोपिकासु...)

163. Cf. *ASKS.*, VI. 51.

dise of precious stones.[164] Sea-trade was the family occupation of Ratnodbhava, and in accordance with the custom of his family, he was sent by his father Padmodbhava on the sea as a trader.[165] In every city there was a guild of merchants[166] in order to regulate the conduct of its members. Slave-trade was common among the Yavanas[167] at that time. Pirates[168] were also known.

Fine arts were well-developed. We have allusions to architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dancing. Architecture is evident from the description of the city and magnificient mansions of Kāñcī.[169] Sculpture was also quite developed. Daṇḍin presents a great architect, sculptor and scientist in Lalitālaya, who refitted with wonderful skill the broken arm of the image of Viṣṇu. He was an expert in constructing ninety-six kinds of temples (*prāsādas*) and six kinds of mechanical contrivances (*yantras*); and had all the thirty-six qualifications prescribed for an architect.[170] The report of the people shows that once he constructed mechanical men and exhibited a mock fight among them, caused

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164. *AS.*, p. 177, lines 7-8, 13-14.

165. *Ibid.*, p. 189, lines 13-14; ASKS., IV. 97.

166. *DKC.*, p. 233, lines 12 (वणिग्ग्राम) 17 (विणग्जनसमाज)

167. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 215, lines 6—8.

168. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 215, lines 9—11. Bhīmadhanvan attacks the ship of the Yavanas. The ship used for capturing ships at sea was called *madgu* (*ibid.*, p. 215, line 9).

169. Vīde *AS.*, p. 4, line 1 ; p. 6, line 3. Vide also V. S. Agrawala "Palace-Architecture in Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarī*", *JOI*, Baroda, Vol. XIII, No. 4, June, 1964, pp. 332-40.

170. *AS.*, p. 12, lines 12—14.

artificial clouds to rain from the sky, showed magic by means of *yantras* and broke the heads of innumerable elephants of foes in the battle all at once with the pestle-like arrows.[171] His father was superior even to the Yavanas in making mechanical contrivances (*yantras*).[172] Such treatises as those of Brahmā, Indra and Parāśara were studied on the arts like sculpture.[173] Painting was also popular among the people. Thus we find that Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī draw each other's portrait out of memory of their former life;[174] Apahāravarman paints on the wall with a resinous paste Princess Ambālikā in her sleeping posture and himself as prostrating at her feet, takes a preparation of scented betel-leaves, a bit of camphor and some coral-tree gum, chews them and spits on the wall to outline a pair of the *cakravāka* birds;[175] and Navamālikā and Pramati draw the likeness of each other.[176] Painting is again referred to in Nitambavatī's story.[177] As to music, Daṇḍin speaks of the music concerts arranged for the amusement of king Rājahaṁsa.[178] Besides, we are told of the music concert of Rāgamañjarī.[179] Dancing was also a favourite pursuit.

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171. *Ibid.,* p. 13, lines 1–4.

172. *Ibid.,* p. 13, lines 5-6.

173. *Ibid.,* p. 13, lines 10-11 (युष्मादृशां तु ब्रह्मेन्द्रपराशरप्रभृतिप्रणीत-शास्त्रहृदयवेदिनां कियदिवैतस्मिन् नैपुणमपि)

174. *ASKS.,* VI. 88–91.

175. *DKC.,* p. 132, lines 1–7.

176. Vide *ibid.,* p. 201, line 14; p. 202, line 4.

177. *Ibid.,* p. 231, lines 4–11. Kalahakaṇṭaka is bewitched by the charms of Nitambavatī as painted by a painter. His remarks on the painting show how closely it represents its objects.

178. *AS.,* p. 29, lines 15-16.

179. *DKC.,* p. 109, line 2.

Daṇḍin gives a very fine, picturesque and vivid description of ball-dance (*kandukanṛtya*), performed by Princess Kandukāvatī.

Gambling was current and was developed into a systematized art with its fixed rules and intricacies.[180] Gambling houses were kept in big cities and were looked after by superintendents.[181] Even thieving was developed into a skilful art[182] and had its own authoritative texts. Karṇīsuta was the greatest authority on the art of thieving.[183]

Magic shows, music concerts, dancing and cock-fights were the favourite means of recreation. Magicians amused people by showing wonderful feats.[184] People were interested in cock-fights. We find a description of the fight between the cocks of the *nārikela* and the *balākā* breeds.[185]

Daṇḍin thus lived and roamed about in a society which had, as his depiction shows, both of its aspects, good as well as bad. He observed every aspect of the social life of his day very minutely and pictured it very realistically. His

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180. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 96, line 2 ; p. 97, line 2.

181. *Ibid.*, p. 97, lines 7, 8 (सभिक)

182. Daṇḍin has painted an exceptionally skilfull thief in Apahāravarman, who sets out with complete paraphernalia and gains surprising success in his adventure (vide *ibid.*, p. 98, line 2 ; p. 99, line 3).

183. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 96, line 1 (कर्णीसुतप्रहिते पथि)

184. *Vidyeśvara* is described as showing his magic feats in the court of King Mānasāra and performing the marriage of Prince Rājavāhana with Mānasāra's daughter Avantisundarī through his magical devices. Vide *ASKS.*, VII 58–77.

185. *DKC.*, p. 199, line 12 ; p. 200, line 5.

portrayal of the occurrences in the royal harems and the intrigues at courts contains the cases of adultery and murders, which shows how succession in a royal family in India was many times shrouded in an atmosphere of crime and fraud. Secret love-affairs, depicted in some of the stories[186] in his work, may be found even today in any society. Similar is the case with thieving which he describes in Apahāravarman's narrative. He portrayed these evils, because he witnessed them in the sections of the society which he chose to depict. It will be unwise to jump, seeing the depiction of some bad aspects of the society in his prose romance, to the conclusion that the entire society at that time was in a degenerate state and abounded in evils. No society is, as a matter of fact, completely free from these evils. A society of flesh and blood has both good as well as evil.

186. *Vide* the stories of Kāmapāla, Rājavāhana, Pramati, and Mantragupta.

THE HISTORICITY OF THE MĀLAVIKĀGNI-MITRAM—A RE-EXAMINATION

R. P. Tripathi

Allahabad

On the basis of the available epigraphic and numismatic evidences, the similarities in the career of Candragupta II Vikramāditya and Puṣyamitra Śuṅga as well as the repeated references to queen Dhāriṇī (to be taken as a family name and not as a real name) in the *Mālavikāgnimitram,* the author opines that Kālidāsa took the theme of his play from the post-Mauryan era and through these he portrayed his own time, i. e., the Gupta period.

Attempts have been made in the past to reconstruct the history of the Śuṅgas on the basis of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[1] (*Māl.*) by distinguishing its facts from the fancies. But it may be pointed out that the date of its author Kālidāsa, has been a matter of debate and still the scholars are not at one to reach a definite conclusion. However a section of scholars places him about c. 400 A.D.[2] a date within the period of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (c. 375—415 A.D.). The *Māl.* is essentially a literary work and not a historical one, written most probably several centuries late than the times it seeks to portray. The literary man's traditional latitude and the late date of the work make it hard to accept everything stated in it at its face

1. *Works of Kālidāsa,* Vol. I (Dramas) by C. R. Devadhar, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1966.

2. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* 82; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India,* 321.

value.[3] The view put forth by Powell-Price that to reconstruct Śuṅga history on the basis of the *Māl.* would be like reconstructing the history of Denmark on the basis of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*,[4] is not without force. Similarly there are others who seriously doubt the historical character of this drama[5] and the reasons for such a doubt are obvious. It is possible as has been suggested by some that the historical events of different periods have been inadvertently or deliberately put together for evolving an interesting dramatic theme.[6] If it is so it would be rewarding to explore such possibilities.

Kālidāsa picks up the theme of the drama from the post-Mauryan events and glorifies the career and achievements of Puṣyamitra-Śuṅga, his son Agnimitra and the grandson Vasumitra. There are certain marked similarities in the career of Candragupta II Vikramāditya and Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga captured the throne only after murdering his predecessor Bṛhadratha. The same is true about Candragupta II who killed his brother Rāmagupta and gained sovereignty. Perhaps Puṣyamitra Śuṅga killed the last king of the Mauryan dynasty to save the kingdom from the onslaught of the Yavana invaders, so did Candragupta II to save the empire as well as the prestige of his family by defeating the powerful Śakas, who had compelled Rāmagupta to surrender his Queen Dhruvasvāminī. Thus both the monarchs had to face the dreadful forces of the Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) and the Śakas respectively. Puṣya-

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3. J. S. Negi, *Some Indological Studies*, Vol. I (Allahabad 1966) 79.

4. *Ibid.*, 79, fn. 2.

5. U. N. Roy, *Studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture*, Vol. I (Allahabad 1969), 234—249.

6. *Journal of the Ganga Nath Jha Research Institute*, VII, 123 ff.

mitra Śuṅga was the follower of the Brahmanical religion and performed two horse sacrifices. Candragupta II too was a great patron of the Brahmanical religion and it is not impossible if he performed a horse-sacrifice (Aśvamedha) to celebrate his victories.[7]

The *Māl.* narrates the happenings and suggests a time when Puṣyamitra Śuṅga was in his old age and the mantle of conquering new areas had fallen on his son Agnimitra and grandson Vasumitra. The drama leaves a clear impression that Vasumitra was not mature enough to lead the army in the battlefield[8] yet he was deputed to do so. He would have been in his adolescence. A perusal of the Gupta history shows that the three generations i. e. Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta existed simultaneously.

In the last days of Candragupta II, the burden would have fallen on Kumāragupta I, who had attained a mature age, and his son Skandagupta a valiant and heroic prince. On the basis of the available epigraphic and numismatic data it can be said that both Candragupta II (A.D. 375—415) and Kumāragupta I (A.D. 415—455) ruled nearly for forty years which spared lesser years for Skandagupta. His short reign of about twelve years (A.D. 455—467) should not surprise us because at the time of his accession, he would have been already in an advanced age. So far as the question of age is concerned it may be said that Kumāragupta was born after the accession of Candragupta II and as such he would not have assumed power before completing thirty eight years of his age when Skandagupta would

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7. J. Ratnakar, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 3, 79.

8. This is borne out by the use of such terms as *putraka* and *vatsaka* for him by his mother and her complaint that he had been appointed to too risky a task by the Senāpati. cf., *The Māl.*, Act V, 150-51.

have been in his teens. We may workout the approximate age of all the three persons in about 412 A.D. as below :

Candragupta II would have been nearly 60 years of age, Kumāragupta I nearly 35 years of age and Skandagupta nearly 15 years of age.

The division of the kingdom of Vidarbha figures prominently in the *Māl.* From the narratives of the drama it has been concluded that the kingdom was divided into two parts and both were under the supervision of the Śuṅgas.[9] Such a political condition of Vidarbha during the reign of the Śuṅgas is not corroborated by any other evidence. Contrary to this we have definite information about the division of Vidarbha during the Vākāṭaka-Gupta age to which Kālidāsa would have belonged. We are inclined to agree that Kālidāsa was living in the Vākāṭaka-Gupta age as the majority of the scholars believe,[10] and even it does not seem wholly impossible that Candragupta II deputed him as the tutor of the Vākāṭaka princes.[11] Here it may be pointed out that the Vākāṭakas were the local officers in Berar or Vidarbha under the defunct Sātavāhana empire and continued to administer even after their disappearance,[12] and it may be well presumed that the nucleus of the original Vākāṭaka principality lay in Berar or Vidarbha.[13] It is an established fact that the Vākāṭaka kingdom was divided soon after Pravarasena I. One of his sons Sarvasena became the

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9. Act V, 148-49.

10. B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa* (Delhi 1968) appendix A, 352–360. He holds that Kālidāsa may have been born during the reign of Samudragupta and lived during the whole of Candragupta II's reign and the major part of Kumāragupta's rule (360).

11. Majumdar and Altekar, *The Vākāṭaka–Gupta Age,* 112.

12. *Ibid.,* 97.

13. *Ibid.,* 96-97.

founder of the next branch of the Vākāṭakas in Berar called the Basim branch. Thus two distinct branches of the Vākāṭakas ruled in the beginning of the 5th C. A. D. The evidence supplied by the place names in the numerous charters of Pravarasena II makes it clear that the districts of Amaravati, Wardha, Betul, Chhindawara, Nagpur, Bhandara and Balaghat were under the main branch of the Vākāṭakas and the Southern Maharashtra, Southern Berar and north-western Hyderabad were under the Basim branch of the Vākāṭakas.[14]

On the basis of the aforesaid position it may be safely concluded that the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas (originally Vidarbha) stood divided into two parts. Both of them were in good relation with the Guptas and it has been suggested by some that the Vākāṭakas continued in 'subordinate alliance' with them.[15] Kālidāsa would not have been unaware of this fact. It would have in fact prompted him to discover and portray an analogous situation in the drama.

Among the women characters of the *Māl.* the repeated reference to Dhāriṇī, the chief consort of Agnimitra is significant. It is stated in the text that the signet ring of the Queen was impressed with a serpent motiff (*Sarpamudritamaṅgulīyakam*),[16] a fact which may be taken to indicate her Nāga descent. Prabhāvatī Gupta, the daughter of Candragupta II obviously belongs to Dhāraṇa gotra.[17] This has been the exclusive evidence to resolve the question of the origin of the Guptas. But the authenticity of the evidence can be questioned on the ground that Prabhāvatī might

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14. *Ibid.*, 114.

15. V. A. Smith *JRAS*, 1914, 324.

16. *The Māl.*, Act IV, 98-99.

17' D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* first edn. (Calcutta 1942), 413 ; Poona Copper Plate Inscription of Prabhāvatī Guptā.

have mentioned her mother's descent. Her mother Kuberanāgā according to the *Poona Copperplate Inscription* belonged to a Nāga family. The existence of a Nāga ruling house called 'Dhāraṇa' is not impossible.[18] The repeated reference to the Queen Dhāriṇī in the *Māl.* may well be understood in the light of Kālidāsa's association with the Guptas. The name Dhāriṇī does not appear to be the real name of the Queen of Agnimitra. That is why she is so addressed even by her friends and servants. It may be supposed that this was her family-name. It is difficult to agree with the view of H. C. Raychaudhuri who relates the Dhāraṇa gotra of the Guptas with the name 'Dhāriṇī' of this drama.[19] Neither we have any definite evidence regarding the matrimonial relation of the Śuṅgas with the Nāgas—a family to which Dhāriṇī would have been related as the drama indicates. Therefore it may be one of the possibilities that the great poet-dramatist was portraying his own time in the drama by keeping Kuberanāgā in his mind who belonged to the Nāga family.

The *Māl.* refers to a 'great conflict' between a force of Yavana cavalry and the army of the Śuṅgas led by Vasumitra on the bank of the Sindhu.[20]

The reference as such has generated a number of controversies and serious doubts have been raised regarding the extent of the Śuṅga dominions.[21] Further the existence of

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18. J. S. Negi, *K. C. Chattopadhyaya Memorial Volume* (Department of Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology, Allahabad University, 1975), 24, fn. 28.

19. *Political History of Ancient India,* (VIIth edn., 1972), 467.

20. Act V, 150-51.

21. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India,* 228 ; U. N. Roy, *op. cit.,* 234 ff. ; A. K. Narain, *The Indo Greeks,* 83.

the independent states in U.P., Rajasthana and the Punjab[22] in second century B.C. affirms that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga was not the sovereign lord of Northern India as Kālidāsa would like us to believe. Therefore the testimony of the drama regarding the extent of the Śuṅga empire upto the bank of Indus seems to be unbelievable. Instead attention may be drawn to the fact that the poet-dramatist lived in the age of the Guptas who were really the sovereign lords of the whole of Northern India. At least in one of the records of the period the king 'Candra' (identified by some as Candragupta II) is said to have 'defeated the Vāhlīkas by crossing the seven mouths of the river Indus (Sindhu).'[23]

Kālidāsa seems to be fully aware of the performance of the horse sacrifice by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga but has exaggerated the extent of his empire which applies to the reign of Candragupta II than to that of the Śuṅga monarch.

In view of the aforesaid discussion it may be suggested that Kālidāsa took the theme of his drama from the happenings of the post-Mauryan epoch and made it suggestively resemble with the conditions of his own time by lending colours to it with his fertile imagination. However the veracity of his work would remain uncorroborated until further evidences are brought to light.

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22. This view is based on the so-called 'tribal coinages' of North India; for a critical discussion see J. S. Negi, *op. cit.*, 80 ff.

23. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, 276.

INTRODUCTION OF SANSKRIT IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

VIJAY KUMAR THAKUR

Patna

In this paper, the author gives an account of spreading of Sanskrit language and literature, its popularization and impact in the South-East Asian countries.

The migration of Indians to the countries of South-East Asia, which started from the early centuries of the Christian era, proved to be momentous in its consequences. The Indian migrants, both missionaries and merchants, carried their culture with them, and introduced Indian customs and manners, religion and philosophy, art and architecture, wherever they went. In the field of literature the greatest development was the introduction of Sanskrit in South-East Asian countries. The popularity of Sanskrit in this part of the world is attested by the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions discovered at Sumatra, Java, Bali, Siam, Burma, Malaya peninsula and Borneo. These inscriptions also prove the very high degree of development of the knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature with a high degree of skill in metrical forms.

The oldest Sanskrit inscriptions of South-East Asia come from Vietnam which represents the old Hindu Kingdom of Champā with its capital at Champāpura. In fact, Vo-chanh[1] is the earliest inscription of Champā, dated in second or third century A.D. It is written in flawless Sans-

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1. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far-East.*, Vol. I, *Champā.*

krit, in purely Indian alphabet, which was current in contemporary India. The prose contains two or three verses in *Vasanta-tilaka* metre which symbolises a simple literary style. The inscription in question records the donations of a King belonging to the family of Śrī Māra. R. C. Majumdar took notice of about 130 inscriptions in his book *Champā,*[2] written more than fifty years ago, and more have been discovered since.[3] One of them, the inscription of Sambhu Varman reflects a developed *Kāvya* style.[4] Thus the two inscriptions under discussion clearly point out that the classical Sanskrit literature including prose and *Kāvya* were current in Champā. Such was the popularity of Sanskrit in the country that it became the official language and many kings became Sanskrit scholars. One of the kings of Champā, Hara Varman, was well-versed in the six systems of Hindu philosophy and Sanskrit grammar.[5] The high development of Sanskrit in Champā is also reflected by an inscription containing more than 30 verses. One inscription contains verses in such metres as Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Upajāti, Vasantatilaka, Śikhariṇī, Mālinī, Āryā and Śloka.[6]

Equally striking and unique was the progress of Sanskrit in Kambuja.[7] So far scholars have collected and edited almost 150 Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja. Most of these inscriptions are written in flawless and beautiful *Kāvya*

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2. *Ibid.*

3. R. C. Majumdar, *Indian Culture in South-East Asia* (1969), p. 41.

4. Cf. Idem, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East,* Vol. I, *Champā.*

5. Idem, *Indian Culture in South-East Asia,* p. 42.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Cf. B. R. Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia,* (1928).

style. Some of these inscriptions are quite voluminous and contain as many as 298 verses. Four inscriptions of Yaśovarman contain, respectively, 50, 73, 93 and 108 verses each.[8] But the Praśastis of Rājendravarman outshine those of Yaśovarman both in quality and size. The Mebon inscription of this king contains 218 verses while the Pre-Rup inscription has 298 verses[9] ; the latter is supposed to be the largest inscription of South-East Asia.

The inscriptions of Kambuja contain almost all the metres of Sanskrit. The authors exhibit a thorough acquaintance with the most developed rules and conventions of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody. Furthermore, their intimate knowledge of the Indian epics, *Kāvyas* and the *Purāṇas*, as well as other branches of literature in addition to their penetrating spiritual and philosophical outlook betraying religious and mythological ideas pertaining to the different religious sects of India, are the distinct indications to the marvellous adoption of this language by a community which was separated from the home-land of Sanskrit by thousands of miles. They also refer to the Grammar of Pāṇini and its commentary by Patañjali, Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. the medical treatise of Suśruta and in general terms to Horāśāstra, Nītiśāstra, etc.[10] Though the name of Kālidāsa does not find direct mention, nevertheless four verses of the Pre-Rup inscription definitely allude to *Raghuvaṃśa*, repeating sometimes the exact words used by the poet himself.[11] The diagraphic inscriptions of Yaśovarman also re-

8. Cf. R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, (1953).

9. *Ibid.*

10. R. C. Majumdar, *Indian Culture in South-East Asia*, p. 42.

11. Cf. R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *Inscriptions of Kambuja*.

flect intimate knowledge of *Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa* and *Harivaṃśa.* Minor texts like *Setubandha* of Pravarasena and *Sūryaśataka* of Mayūra too were known to these people. Not only the Indian Sanskrit works were known but at least one new book was also written.[12]

Sanskrit was adopted as the official and court language. Princes were educated by their gurus in the *siddhāntas, grammar, dharmaśāstras* and the different systems of philosophy. The use of similies, comparisons and allegories in the inscriptions similar to that of India clearly indicates that the classical works in Sanskrit were regularly studied. Kings appointed *ācāryas* in *āśramas* and other holy places with a view to teach Sanskrit grammar. *Kāvya* probably formed a favourite subject of study and even a minister is described as having drunk the nectar of poetry.[13] The Pre-Rup inscription refers to a new *Kāvya* known as *Manohara* about which we know very little. Even several Kings are known to have been highly efficient in different branches of Sanskrit literature. The King Yaśovarman of Kambuja is compared to Pāṇini and is said to have composed a commentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya.* His father was probably educated by the learned royal priest and mastered various *śāstras* and *Kāvyas.*[14] The Kambuja inscriptions, thus bear ample testimony to the highly flourishing state of Sanskrit literature in the country, and also show that the composers of these edicts were well conversant with various branches of Sanskrit literature.

Java was yet another country which was greatly influenced by Sanskrit language and literature.[15] Though there

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12. R. C. Majumdar, *Indian Culture in South-East Asia,* p. 42.

13. R. C. Majumdar, *Kambuja-Deśa* (1944), p. 64.

14. Idem, *Indian Culture in South-East Asia,* p. 42.

15. Cf. B. R. Chatterji, *India and Java* (1938).

is a paucity of inscriptions, yet the rich Old-Javanese literature testifies to the wide influence of Sanskrit. The Old-Javanese language was current till the fall of Majapahit and the introduction of Islam. It was a mixture of Sanskrit and indigenous knowledge.[16] Its literature is marked by several important characteristics. Its poetry generally follows rules of Sanskrit metres. The subject matter is adopted generally from the Sanskrit literature and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses. The earliest specimen of this literature known to us, is an Old-Javanese version of a Sanskrit work *Amaramālā,* a lexicon like *Amarakośa,* written under the patronage of King Jitendra of Śailendra dynasty.[17] The old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* also belongs to the same period and is not an exact translation of the Sanskrit epic, but an independent work. Its subject matter somewhat differs from the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* as it concludes with the reunion of Rāma and Sītā after the fire-ordeal of the latter and does not contain the story of her banishment and death.[18] The next important work of this category is the prose translation of the great epic *Mahābhārata.* It closely follows the original epic and is condensed but its style is primitive and it lacks literary merit. The three *Parvas, Ādi, Virāṭa* and *Bhīṣma,* were written under the patronage of Airlanga towards the beginning of the 11th century A.D., while the rest five *Parvas* were added later.[19] These translations have their own value for they made the Epic popular in Java and supplied themes for numerous literary works which exhibit high literary merit. Even the *Purāṇa* literature made an impact on Java. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* is undoubted-

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16. Md. Aquique, *Māgadhī,* Vol. III, p. 104.
17. *Ibid.*
18. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.,* p. 43.
19. Md. Aquique, *op. cit.,* p. 105.

ly the most important text in this list.[20] *Agastyaparvan* is another work of this class, where Agastya describes to his son Dṛddasyu the creation of the world in the Purāṇic style.[21]

Another class of literature that drew its sustenance from Sanskrit texts is called 'Kakawin', from *Kavi* meaning '*Kāvya*'. They are poetical works written in the Old-Javanese language on themes derived from the Epics and other Sanskrit works. The *Bhāratayuddha,* based on those parts of the *Mahābhārata* which deal with the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas in the field of Kurukṣetra, is the greatest work of this class, the grandeur of whose style is comparable to the Greek Epics.[22] The poet Mpu Panuluh who completed this work, which was originally begun by the poet Mpu Seḍah, wrote another poetical work, *Harivaṃśa.* Another Kakawin work *Samaradahana*[23] derived its subject matter from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava.* References may also be made to two somewhat earlier texts *Kṛṣṇāyana* and *Sumanasāntaka* (death caused by flower), who derive their subject-matter from *Harivaṃśa* and *Raghuvaṃśa* respectively. Another class of Kakwin work, known as *Nītiśāstra-Kawin,* is somewhat akin to the Indian works such as *Nītisāra, Pañcatantra, Cāṇakyaśataka,* etc. In addition to these, there are certain books dealing with some episodes of the two Epics.[24] There are also works on history, linguistics, erotics, music, birds, medicine, etc. In this connection Majumdar has pertinently remarked that "The vast Indo-

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20. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.,* p. 44.

21. R. C. Majumdar, *Indian Culture in South-East Asia,* p. 44.

22. Idem, *Hindu Colonies in the Far-East* (1944), p. 80.

23. For interpretation of this as well as other similar terms, see, *Ibid.,* pp. 80-81.

24. Idem, *Indian Culture in South-East Asia,* p. 45.

Javanese literature is a standing testimony to the great influence of Sanskrit literature of such an influence of one literature over another.[25]

The history of Sanskrit literature in Java on the one hand and Kambuja and Champā on the other, exhibit dissimilar developments. In the latter case (Champā and Kambuja) Sanskrit was the dominant language which was culminated for long as the only form of literary expression, while the local dialect gradually developed under its aegis till it surpassed the former as a vehicle of literary expression after the Hindu culture had spent its force in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. But in Java Sanskrit never attained a dominant place, as the indigenous dialect though strongly influenced by Sanskrit, attained a highly developed literary form at an early stage.[26] It has left no evidence of original Sanskrit compositions and bequeathed only a large legacy of Indo-Javanese literature.[27]

It is rather interesting to note that Sanskrit was studied even in the island of Borneo, which in modern times has earned notoriety as the land of head-hunters. The discovery of seven Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on stone pillars set up as *yūpas* or sacrificial pillars by the Brāhmaṇas to commemorate the rich donations and sacrifices of King Mūlavarman, son of Aśvavarman and grandson of Kundunga (Kauṇḍinya) proves this fact. These inscriptions have been dated on paleographic grounds to about A.D. 400.[28]

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25. *Hindu Colonies in the Far-East*, pp. 80-81.

26. Md. Aquiqe, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

27. For details, see, H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali* (1934).

28. R. C. Majumdar, *Indian Culture in South-East Asia*, p. 43.

In the case of Malaya the impact of Sanskrit was so profound that its language and literature is still replete with Sanskrit. Numerous examples can be put forward to illustrate this fact. The Malaya word *serapah* is Sanskrit *śāpa*. Sanskrit *śrī* is pronounced as *sheri* in Malaya to signify beauty and charm. Again *serimukha* in Malaya is *śrīmukha* in Sanskrit and denotes the light of countenance. Malaya *santosa* is Sanskrit *santoṣa* which means 'satisfaction'. The Sanskrit word *sahodara* (of the same womb), meaning brother or sister, is pronounced in Malaya as *saudara*. Similarly Sanskrit *pañca-varṇa,* i. e. five colours, for multi-coloured, is pronounced as *pancarona* in Malaya. Similar instances can be multiplied.

The impact of Sanskrit on Malaya was so lasting that several towns in Malaya are still known by their ancient Sanskrit names. The 'Saramban' is derived from *Śrī Rāmavan,* i. e. the bower of *Śrī* Rāma. A city Sungei Pattani is the Malaya equivalent of Sanskrit *Śrīṅga Paṭṭana,* i. e. a mountain city. Another town Patalinga Jaya derives its name from Sanskrit *Sphaṭika-liṅga Jaya,* i. e. the great crystal emblem of Lord Śiva.

A number of Hindu mythological names have their counterparts in Malaya language. Thus *Seri Rama* is derived from *Śrī* Rāma. Arjuna is pronounced as *Ranjuna.* Some Hindu deities even bear their original Sanskrit meaning and pronunciation in Malaya. Among them, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Hanumān are the most popular ones. The Sanskrit word *Mahādevī* is, however, applied to women of Malaya royalty and not to any goddess. But the princes of the royal blood are known by the simple word 'Putra' which means 'son' in Sanskrit.

The above survey makes it clear that Sanskrit literature and language was not only dominant in the South-East

Asian countries, but it also influenced the local literature to a great extent. In this context R. C. Majumdar rightly remarks that "Of the various elements of Hindu Culture that were implanted on the soil of South-East Asia by the Hindu colonists, Sanskrit language and literature was the first and foremost that opened a new world of culture."[29]

29. *Hindu Colonies in the Far-East*, p. 79.

MADHVA ON *ŚATARCITVA* OF ŚUNAŚŚEPA

A. S. Tiwari

Deoria

While discussing the problem of Śatarcitva of Śunaśśepa, the author, discarding the views of Sāyaṇa based on *Sarvā.*, agrees with Madhva who on the authenticity of the oldest tradition contained in the *AB* 7.13.18 maintaines that Śunaśśepa ājīgarti saw one hundred ṛcs but three of them were omitted from the *ṚV* 1.24-30 and inserted in the fourth and the fifth maṇḍalas during the process of the compilation of the Saṃhitās. These three ṛcs (4.1.4,5 and 5.2.7) may very well be taken to form a part of the *ṚV* 1.24-30.

The first Maṇḍala of *RV* is traditionally known to have been composed by *Śatarcins.*[1] This means that each seer of this Maṇḍala is the composer of 100 *ṛcs.* But in practice we find that only to one seer Parucchepa Divodāsa is attributed an exact number of one hundred *ṛcs.* On the other hand, we find that to Ucathya Dīrghatamas are ascribed 237 *ṛcs,* whereas Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa is said to have visualised 71 *ṛcs.* This apparent contradiction in theory and practice has naturally attracted the attention of later writers and therefore we find that Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in his *Vedārthadīpikā,* (1187 A.D.) which is a commentary on the *Sarvānukramaṇī* (*Sarvā.*) of Kātyāyana, tries to justify the name *Śatarcin* given

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1. *Bṛhaddevatā,* 3.116

प्रथमे मण्डले ज्ञेया ऋषयस्तु शतर्चिनः ।

क्षुद्रसूक्तमहासूक्ता अन्त्ये मध्येषु मध्यमाः ।।

Sarvā., Oxford, 1886, p. 1. शतर्चिन आद्ये मण्डलेऽन्त्ये क्षुद्रसूक्त-महासूक्ता मध्यमेषु मध्यमा.।

to the authors of the first Maṇḍala of the *ṚV*. He says that even though the number of *ṛcs* ascribed to Madhucchandas Vaiśvāmitra exceed the limit of one hundred, it is common practice to say that his *ṛcs* number one hundred (since the marginal difference between the two is negligible). Similarly by implication he points out that on the basis of the *Chatrinyāya*, we can take all the *ṛcs* ascribed to those seers as one hundred (even though they may be more or less, as the case may be).[2] But Madhva (1238-1317 A.D.) does not seem to be in agreement with such a solution as offered by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and offers his own views. He is in favour of taking the *Śatarcitva* in the true sense of the term. His views on the *Śatarcitva* of the seers of the first Maṇḍala are available to us only in so far as the first forty hymns are concerned, for he has written a commentary only on this portion. But they contain adequate information on the point.

As an evidence to this view, he cites the *ṛcs* attributed to Śunaśśepa Ājīgarti (*RV* 1.24-30) and makes interesting observations regarding his *Śatarcitva*. *RV* 1.24-30[3] (ninety-seven *ṛcs*) are attributed to Śunaśśepa and Madhva makes the absence of three *ṛcs* as the main point of discussion. Here he opines that the three *ṛcs* have been omitted from among these hymns (*udvāpa*) and inserted somewhere else (*avāpa*) during the process of compilation. Thus, accord-

2. *Vedārthadīpikā*, Oxford, 1886, p. 59

आद्यमण्डलस्था ऋषयः शर्तीचिन इति संज्ञिताः । ऋचां शतं शतर्चं । आद्यस्यर्षे ऋक्शतयोगेनच्छत्रिन्यायेन शर्तीचिनः सर्वे । द्वयधिकेऽपि शतोक्ति र्बाहुल्यात् । उक्तं हि—

शर्तीचसंज्ञा विज्ञेया ह्याद्यमण्डलर्दाशिनः ।
ददर्शादौ मधुच्छंदा द्वयधिकं यदृचां शतं ॥
तत्साहचर्यादन्येऽपि विज्ञेयास्तु शर्तीचिनः ।
अच्छत्राश्च्छत्रिणैकेन यथा वै छत्रिणोऽभवन् ॥

ing to Madhva the problems of *Śatarcitva* and *Udvāpāvāpa* are intermingled and hence complimentary to each other.

While commenting on the hymns attributed to Śunaśśepa, Madhva first says that "some *ṛcs* seen by Śunaśśepa are found somewhere else."[3] He further elaborates it by adding that "Śunaśśepa saw hundred *ṛcs* while eulogising different gods in order to get himself freed from the stake. Of these, ninety-seven *ṛcs* are found here and the rest are in the fourth and fifth Maṇḍalas. The order of the *ṛcs* as followed by the *Brāhmaṇa* should be followed here too."[4] Madhva does not specifically mention the *ṛcs*. But that he bases his arguments on the authority of the *AB* is made clear by his commentator Chalāri[5] who points out these *ṛcs* as *RV* 4.1.4,[6] 5[7] and 5.2.7[8] respectively in accordance with the *AB* (7.13-18) which for the first time has narrated the legend of Śunaśśepa in complete form. This text states in clear terms that the story of Śunaśśepa has one hundred

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3. *Ṛgbhāṣya* (Sarvamūla), p. 530
शुनःशेपो दिताभ्यश्च पठ्यन्तेऽन्यत्र काश्चन् ।

4. *ibid.*, p. 566
शुनःशेपो ददर्शाति उत्तरं परमृक्शतम् ।
यूपादात्मविमोक्षाय स्तुवन्देवान्पृथक्पृथक् ।।
त्र्यूनं शतमिहैवान्यच्चतुर्थे पञ्चमेऽपि च ।
मण्डले ब्राह्मणोक्तस्तु क्रमोऽत्रापि ह्यृचां भवेत् ।।

5. cf. *Ṛgbhāṣyaṭīkāṭippaṇī*, Nirnayasagar edn., Bombay, 1823 Śaka, p. 184.

6. त्वं नो अग्ने वरुणस्य विद्वान्देवस्य हेळोऽव यासिसीष्ठाः।
यजिष्ठो वह्नितमः शोशुचानो विश्वा द्वेषांसि प्रमुमुग्ध्यस्मत्।।

7. स त्वं नो अग्नेऽवमो भवोती नेदिष्ठो अस्या उषसो व्युष्टौ।
अव यक्ष्व नो वरुणं रराणो वीहि मृळीकं सुहवो न एधि ।।

8. शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं सहस्राद्यूपादमुञ्चो अशमिष्ट हि यः ।
एवास्मदग्ने वि मुमुग्धि पाशान्होतश्चिकित्व इह तू निषद्य ।।

ṛcs.[9] It records *RV* 4.1.4, 5 and 5.2.7 in continuation of the ṛcs seen by Śunaśśepa.[10]

But Madhva's stand which has been authenticated by the *AB* narrative of Śunaśśepa legend comes in direct conflict with the tradition of the *Sarvā*. This text ascribes the fourth Maṇḍala to Vāmadeva Gautama and the fifth Maṇḍala to Kumāra Atri.[11] Therefore score of interpreters including Sāyaṇa have taken the *Sarvā.* as the authority and have consequently not raised any doubt whatsoever even though realizing the implied error or inconsistency. Therefore, while commenting on the *AB* 7.18 Sāyaṇa says that ninety-seven ṛcs of this legend are seen by Śunaśśepa while remaining three are seen by 'others'.[12] Who are those 'others' and why the ṛcs which are clearly understood by the *AB* as those seen by Śunaśśepa are supposed by him to have been seen by 'others'?, are two legitimate questions that arise. There was every reason for Sāyaṇa to follow the *AB*, but he has followed the *Sarvā.* and deviated from raising any doubt against the tradition. The Brāhmaṇa text is thus ignored in preference to a later Vedāṅga text !

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9. *AB* 7.17 तदेतत्परऋक्शतगाथं शौनःशेपमाख्यानम्

10. *ibid.*, स स्वाहाकाराभिर्जुहवांचकाराथैनमवभृथमध्यवनिनाय त्वं नो अग्ने वरुणस्य विद्वानित्येताभ्याम् (RV. 4. 1. 4 and 5) अथैनमत ऊर्ध्वमग्निमाहवनीयमुपस्थापयांचकार शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं सहस्रात् (RV. 5.2.7) इति।

11. *Sarvā., op. cit.*; p. 17 वामदेवगौतमश्चतुर्थं मण्डलमपश्यत्; and p. 19 नमो त्रिभ्यो भौमो त्रिः पंचमे मण्डले ऽनुक्तगोत्रमात्रेयं कुमारं कुमारो वृशो वा जान उभो वा...........।

12. शुनःशेपेन दृष्टा सप्ताधिकनवतिसंख्यायुक्ता ऋचो याः सन्त्यन्येन दृष्टास्तिस्र ऋचो याः सन्ति ब्राह्मणे प्रोक्ता एकत्रिंशद् गाथा विशेषाः ये सन्ति तैः सर्वैरुपेतं हरिश्चन्द्रो ह वैधस इत्यादिकं सर्वं शुनःशेपमाख्यानम्।

Now comes the question of examining Madhva's stand on the *Udvāpāvāpa* and *Śatarcitva*. As already discussed, Madhva adheres to the sequence of the *ṛcs* as followed by the *AB* meaning thereby that he considers these three *ṛcs* as part of Śunaśśepa hymns (i. e. *RV* 1.24-30). Madhva's statement of *Śatarcitva* has been widely elaborated by his commentators Jayatīrtha[13] and Chalāri.[14]. The purport of their argument is that the hymn beginning with *yatra grāvā* (arranged as *RV* 1.28 in Śākalya Śākhā of *RV*) should actually come after the hymns arranged as *RV* 1.29 and 1.30 in the present Saṃhitā. Chalāri contends that the hymn *yatra grāvā* is omitted (*udvāpa*) from the original place and inserted (*avāpa*) in between the *namo mahadbhyo......* (*RV* 1.27.13) and the hymn *yacciddhi somapā* (*RV* 1.29).[15] An examination of the *AB* narrative of Śunaśśepa legend shows that Śunaśśepa praised the Viśvedevās with *namo mahadbhyo* (*RV* 1.27.13) after which the Viśvedevās asked him to praise Indra, whom he praised with the hymn beginning with *yacciddhi somapā* (*RV* 1.29).[16] Thus here we see that there is not at all any mention of the *ṛc* beginning with *yatra grāvā* (*RV* 1.28) among the *ṛcs* seen and

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13. cf., *Ṛgbhāṣyaṭīkā,* Nirnayasagar edn., Bombay, 1823 Śaka, p. 59.

14. cf. *op. cit.,* p. 119.

15. *ibid.,* p. 47 यथा शुनःशेपदृष्टऋक्षु नमो महद्भ्य इत्येतद्दर्शनानंतरं यच्चिद्धि सत्य सोमपा इत्यादिकाभिरिंद्रेऽश्विनोरुषसि च एषु स्तुतेषु विमुक्तपाशः शुनःशेपो यत्र ग्रावेति सूक्तेन सोमाभिषव चमस पूरण होमान्कृतवानिति तमृत्विज ऊचुरित्यादि ब्राह्मणे प्रतिपादितम् । तेन यत्र ग्रावेति सूक्तस्योषः सूक्तात्परत्वं प्रतिपादितं । तदभावाच्चेत उद्वापः नमो महद्भ्य यच्चिद्धीत्येन्मध्ये आवाप इति ज्ञायते ।

16. *AB* 7.16 स विश्वान्देवांस्तुष्टाव नमो महद्भ्य नमो अर्भकेभ्यो इत्येतयर्चा तं विश्वे देवा ऊचुरिन्द्रो वै देवानामोजिष्ठो बलिष्ठः सहिष्ठः सत्तमः पारयिष्णुतमस्तं नु स्तुह्यथ त्वोत्स्रक्ष्याम इति स इन्द्र तुष्टाव यच्चिद्धि सत्य सोमपा इति चैतेन सूक्तेनोत्तरस्य च पंचदशभि :।

recited by Śunaśśepa before his freedom from bondage of *yūpa*. It was only after he was free from the bondage that he was asked by the priests to perform certain ceremonies[17] and subsequently while doing so he saw the hymn *yatra grāvā* (*RV* 1.28) and three other *ṛcs*[18] which are found scattered in the fourth and the fifth Maṇḍalas.

After having taken into account Madhva's stand on *udvāpa* and *avāpa,* there remains to be seen the contents of these three *ṛcs* in accordance with the contents of the hymns arranged by Śākalya in the present Saṃhitā of *RV* 1.24-30. It is quite clear from the Brahmanical statement that these three *ṛcs* were recited by Śunaśśepa. Even though one agreed with Rahurkar[19] that the legend narrated in the *AB* is an afterthought, based on *RV* 1.24-30, one could still safely assume that this narration is probably the oldest of the Śunaśśepa legends found in various Vedic and post-Vedic texts. There is every possibility that the account given in this text regarding the order of the *ṛcs* recited by Śunaśśepa, might be belonging to a branch of the *RV* Saṃhitā other than that of Śākalya. But that would require one to suppose the existence of Śākalya's Saṃhitā before the *AB* or even that of another Brāhmaṇa which contradicted the account of the *AB*. But there does not seem to be any inconsistency whatever if the two *ṛcs* *RV* 4.1.4 and 5, are

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17. *ibid.*, 7.17 तमृत्विज ऊचुस्त्वमेव नोऽस्या ह्नः संस्थामधिगच्छ ।

18. *ibid.*, अथ हैनं शुनःशेपोऽजः सवं ददर्श तमेताभिश्चतसृभिरभिसुषाव यच्चिद्धि त्वं गृहे गृहे (*RV* 1.28. 5–8) इत्यथैनं द्रोणकलशमभ्यवनिनायो- च्छिष्टं चम्वोर्भर (*RV* 1.28.9) इत्येतयर्चाऽथ हास्मिन्नन्वारब्धे पूर्वाभिश्चतसृभिः (*RV* 1.28. 1–4) स स्वाहाकाराभिर्जुहवांचकारथैनमवभृथमध्यवनिनाय त्वं नो अग्ने वरुणस्य विद्वानित्येताभ्याम्, अथैनमत ऊर्ध्वमग्निमाहवनीयमुपस्थापयांचकार शुनश्चिच्छेपं निदितं सहस्रात् इति ।

19. *The seers of the Ṛgveda,* Poona, 1964, p. 130.

taken as a continuation of *RV* 1.24-30. It can easily be understood that when Śunaśśepa regarded Agni as the first and foremost of the immortals and considered him as being capable of giving him back to his father and mother,[20] he might have thought it proper to pay reverence to Agni once again at the end. Moreover, the reference to the anger of Varuṇa and consequently his curse in form of *jalodara* (dropsy) occurring in the *RV* 4.1.4[b] and 5[c], respectively supports our contention. Similarly *RV* 5.2.7, too may be taken to form a part of *RV* 1.24-30. This *ṛc* describes the stage when Śunaśśepa was freed from the bondage, in which he acknowledges that he had been liberated by Agni from the *yūpa* of various stakes. Incidentally, one may notice *RV* 1.24.12[21] and 13,[22] where the seer gives the credit of freeing him from the bondage, to Varuṇa. It must not be forgotten here that there is a practice among the Ṛgvedic poets to ascribe a certain act/feat to more than one god. Thus, for example, the breaking of forts and releasing of cows is an act of Indra and of Bṛhaspati as well (cf *RV* 10.68.5, 12 etc.), so also the killing of Vṛtra is ascribed to Indra and Aśvins (e. g. 8.8. 9,22). One need not, therefore, raise a question as Rahurkar did, viz. to ask why the author (of the *AB*) inscrupulously observing the order of the deities praised in *RV* hymns, makes Śunaśśepa approach Agni twice without giving any intelligible reason?[23]

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20. अग्नेर्वयं प्रथमस्यामृतानां मनामहे चारु देवस्य नाम ।
स नो मह्या अदितये पुनर्दात् पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च ॥ *RV* 1.24.2

21. तदिन्नक्तं तद्दिवा मह्यमाहुस्तदयं केतो हृद आ वि चष्टे ।
शुनःशेपो यमह्वद् गृभीतः सो अस्मान् राजा वरुणो मुमोक्तु ॥

22. शुनःशेपो ह्यह्वद् गृभीतस्त्रिष्वादित्यं द्रुपदेषु बद्धः ।
अवैनं राजा वरुणः ससृज्याद्विद्वाँ अदब्धो वि मुमोक्तु पाशान् ॥

23. *op. cit.*

If we carefully scrutinize the order of the *ṛcs,* found in *RV* 1.24-30, we shall find that the query of Śunaśśepa begins thus ; *Kasya nūnam katamasyāmṛtānām manāmahe* i. e. "whom shall I offer my prayers ?" Afterwards the second *ṛc* is addressed to Agni in which Śunaśśepa considers Agni as the first and foremost among the immortals : *agner vayaṃ prathamasyāmṛtānām.* Then one whole hymn (*RV* 1.26) and some 12 *ṛcs* in hymn 27 are addressed to Agni. Thus it becomes clear that Agni occupies a prominent place in the poet's heart and therefore, he, being tied down to the sacrificial post for being sacrificed, remembers first of all Agni and then other gods. In the *ṛcs tvam no agne varuṇasya vidvān* and *sa tvam no agne* he asks Agni to keep him free from the anger of Varuṇa and in the *ṛc Śunaściccheḥam* as a token of gratitude and reverence for him, he assigns to him the credit of freeing him from the bondage of *yūpa.*

Thus we can safely come to the conclusion that Madhva while talking of the *ṛcs* ascribed to Śunaśśepa follows an old tradition which is recited in the *AB* (one of the oldest Brāhmaṇas as is agreed by all) and in a very reasonable way, authenticates his theories of *udvāpāvāpa* and *śatarcitva.* He endeavours to show through these illustrations that the shape of the original Vedic Saṃhitā has gone through considerable changes due to its redaction into various *śākhās.* Therefore, while commenting on *RV* 1.1-10 he says that the division of the Veda into *aṣṭaka, adhyāya* and *varga* by Vedavyāsa and his disciples is instrumental for such variations as various hands at one would naturally differ in their presentation.[24] Among the various *śākhās* of the *RV* only

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24. *Op. cit.,* p. 530 अत्राप्यक्रमतो दृष्टिरिति नैकक्रमो भवेत् ।
अनन्तत्वात्तु वेदानां प्रायः कर्मानुसारतः ॥

one, viz., that of Śākalya, is available in our days[25] and there is every possibility to suppose that *Śākalya* while arranging the *RV saṃhitā* according to his own way (or through inadvertance also) might have put these *ṛcs* in different Maṇḍalas under the names of different ṛṣis. We can also suppose that the *AB* which presents the legend of Śunaśśepa might have held a different view regarding the authorship of Śunaśśepa[26] and therefore might have ascribed the three *ṛcs,* to Śunaśśepa. The *Sarvā.* which follows Śākala Śākhā of *RV,*[27] therefore puts these three *ṛcs* under the names of Vāmadeva and Kumāra Atri.

It is worth noticing, in this connection that the name of Śunaśśepa is not mentioned directly or indirectly even once either in the Viśvāmitra or in the Vasiṣṭha Maṇḍala of *RV*. These two personalities, however, find a prominent

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संक्षेपं कृतवान्देवः शिष्याश्च तदनुज्ञया ।
अष्टकाध्यायवर्गादिभेदं कृतवान्प्रभु : ॥
स्वाध्याय विश्रमार्थाय तस्मात्क्रमविपर्यय : ।

25. It is reported that the *Śāṅkhāyana* and *Āśvalāyana Śākhās* of the *RV* are available in manuscript form at the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur.

26. cf. Martin Haug, *Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda,* Bombay, 1863, p. 71.

"The mantras referred to are for the most part to be found in the *Rigveda Saṃhitā* which we have at present. There are however, several quoted which are not to be met within it. Whence we must conclude that the Saṃhitā of the Aitareyins belonged to a Śākhā different from that one (the Śākalya Śākhā) which is at present only known to us."

27. *Sarvā., op. cit.,* 1.

place in the Śunaśśepa legend. Curiously enough on the other hand, as pointed out by Dr. SHARMA,[28] there is reference of Śunaśśepa in the hymn of a member of Atri family who were in no way connected with this affair ! Perhaps in this regard Madhva's stand can solve this riddle and this *ṛc* (i. e. *RV* 5.2.7) alongwith other two *ṛcs* (i. e. 4.1.4 and 5), may be supposed to be a part of Śunaśśepa hymns (i. e. *RV* 1.24-30).[29]

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28. cf. U. C. Sharma, *The Viśvāmitras and the Vasiṣṭhas*, Aligarh, 1975, pp. 132-133.

29. It may be true of some scholars e. g. *Hariyappa* and *Sharma* to hold that *RV* 1.24-12 and 13 are not the creation of Śunaśśepa since they sound like referring to a later devotee who is seeking a similar favour that was once shown to Śunaśśepa. Therefore, it is possible that (as Sāyaṇa has interpreted *RV* 1.24.12) the descendants of Śunaśśepa are the seers of those two ṛcs. Possibly, later on these were inserted into *RV* 1.24 as the compositions of Śunaśśepa. Judging from this yardstick *RV* 5.2.7 may also be supposed to be a creation of some decendant of Śunaśśepa. But here I have examined the whole problem as viewed by Madhva vis-a-vis his notion of *Śatarcitva* and *Udvāpāvāpa* and thereby inferred the existence of tradition alien to *Sarvā.* and *Śākalya* which functioned as *modus-operendi* for Madhva and his disciples.

CONCEPT OF WELFARE STATE AS APPLICABLE TO THE NOTION OF STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA*

DR. OM PRAKASH

Allahabad

The author examines the view of some Indian scholars who claim that the ancient Indian state was a "Welfare state" in the modern sense of the term. Explaining the notion of "Welfare State" he states that though ancient Indian state carried out many activities which are in common with the activities of a modern welfare state, yet in a stricter sense, it cannot be designated as a "Welfare state". The concept of welfare state has orginated in the Capitalistic-Industrial Society of the West between the last two world wars and is ultimately based on the Christian form of 'Justice'. The welfare activities of an ancient Indian state derived itself mainly from the concept of *dharma* which is the Cosmic Law with the human social order as its mundane reflection.

A. S. Altekar has characterised ancient Indian state as a welfare state simply because "it regarded itself as the trustee of the population as a whole and tried to harmonise the conflicting interests of its different classes".[1] Kane underscores 'the modern tone' which provisions for the old, the blind, the widows, the orphans and the helpless and for the relief of the unemployed *kṣatriyas, vaiśyas* and *śūdras* in ancient India strike. He has no hesitation in suggesting that ancient Indian state was in no way short of the notion

*A U.G.C. Research paper read in the Vidyapeetha on 19-11-'77.

1. Altekar, *A.S. State and Government in Ancient India,* Varanasi, 1977, p. 333.

of a modern service institution.[2] Using a more cautious language, Drekmeier says that the degree of government control envisaged in the *Arthaśāstra* "anticipates that of the modern welfare state."[3] There is no doubt that in these opinions about the nature of ancient Indian state the expression '*welfare state*' has been employed to denote the welfare activities of the ancient Indian state. But in the terminology of the modern political thought this phrase is restricted to indicate a concept which has been developed largely after the first World War in a bid to find a solution to the dilemma arising from the necessary opposition between industrial absolutism and political freedom.[4] It claims to undo the undesirable effects of industrial absolutism without taking resort to the antidote of political absolutism. The object of the present paper is to analyse this concept in its historical background with a view to examine the validity of its application to ancient Indian state, as such. The paper will also incidently throw light on the source of the welfare activities of state in ancient India and abroad in the context of pre-capitalist socio-political formations.

1. *Essentials of a welfare state*

Welfare state has been conceived as a conscious creation with its psychological and institutional framework provided by the law. Its power to do good to the people without tak-

2. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, pp. 59f.

3. Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Ancient India*, p. 215.

4. Testimony of Louis D. Brandeis before the commission on Industrial Relations, 1915, as cited in William Ebbestein, *Modern Political Thought*, Delhi, 1974, p. 680.

ing away their fundamental liberties is made manifest through legislation. As pointed out by Harold Laski, it is wedded to the principle of respect for individuality without which its character as an enlightened state is impossible.[5] Beveridge understands by this principle of individualism "freedom of worship, speech, writing, study and teaching ; freedom of assembly and of association for political and other purposes, including the bringing about of a peaceful change of the governing authority ; freedom in choice of occupation ; freedom in the management of a personal income".[6] Far from being a *laissez faire* state entirely compatible with the industrial and capitalist absolutism on account of citizen liberties, the welfare state promises a well-planned socialised economy, social security schemes and a controlling device for restraining the anti-social effects of private enterprizes through well-calculated public enterprizes. The well-planned economy has the ultimate end of making "the benefits of civilisation available for the whole human race", as Arnold Toynbee puts it.[7] The whole economy is planned in such a way as to ensure fuller employment, balanced production, correct distribution and counteracting effects of natural calamities, wars and inflation by mobilising state help, manipulating interest rate and tax-structure from time to time. The motto is to make available to every human being, at least the minimum of material well-being, e. g. clothing, food, decent housing, etc. The welfare state strives at the same time to augment scientific knowledge and

5. Laski, *H. A. Grammar of Politics*, p. 172.

6. Beveridge, *Full Employment in Free Society*, 1944, as summarised in Ebbestein, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

7. Toynbee, Arnold, *Not the Age of Atoms but of Welfare for All*, vide Ebbestein, *op. cit.*, p. 679.

research for a fuller exploitation of existing resources so that the living standards may be raised as far as possible. Social security schemes include pensions, medical care, accident insurance, etc.[8] Use of public enterprizes to control business capitalism by an antidote of state capitalism for benevolent ends is calculated to offset the realisation of such selfish ends of the capitalists as is enshrined in the following statement ; "Businessman is neither a social policeman nor a political reformer and that the business of the business is economic and not social".[9] State here enters as a producer of commodities and organises the distribution of its product so as to relieve situations of coercion and hardship for the common man arising from the unrestrained competition among the capitalists. State does the same in the field of commercial transactions too and prevents cornering of goods for profit by creating artificial spurt in prices, by a proper and balanced policy of investment. Welfare state is thus a proposition of a liberal compromise between the two absolutist alternatives of a full-fledged capitalist state with *laissez faire* as its central theme and the socialist state aiming at the complete state control of all the means of production and citizen liberties with assurance of full employment, food, housing and other necessaries of life. Max Lerner feels that the mixed economy of the welfare state is the only way to obtain the maximum welfare.[10]

2. *Welfare activities of the ancient Indian state*

As early as the time of the *Gautama Dharmasūtra* the concept of the state as mere protector of the people was

8. Ebbestein, W., "Welfare State" in *Encyclopaedia Americana,* Vol. 28, p. 606.

9. Ebbestein, *Modern Political Thought,* p. 678.

10. *Ibid.,* p. 679.

transcended to include its positive functions leading to the pleasure of the people.[11] Subsequently the word *rājā* (king) was thought to have been derived from the root *rañj* meaning 'to please',[12] and *pālana,* in the sense of maintenance or sustenance of the people, began to appear besides *rakṣaṇa* (protection) to summarise the functions of the political authority.[13] "The king who frightens his people like a wild beast", says Vidura in the *Mahābhārata,* "loses his dominion extended even up to seas. He should, therefore, keep his subjects pleased in all possible ways".[14] Kauṭilya too declares the good of the people to be the supreme good of the king even above his own.[15] That these high ideals were actually translated into practice is shown by the inscriptions of Aśoka who compares his subjects with his children and instructs his officers to look after them like an expert nurse looking after the child committed to her care by the parents.[16] The welfare activities of the state in ancient India covered a vast range and they can roughly be divided into educational and religious, philanthropic and socio-economic categories.

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11. Gupta, R. K., *Political Thought in the Smṛti Literature,* Allahabad, p. 143; Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Poona, 1946, Vol. III, p. 59; Gautama, X.9-12.

12. Śāntiparvan, 59.125; *Viṣṇu* cited in *Sarasvatī* Villāsa, pp. 33; *Mahābhārata,* cited in *Pārāśaramādhavīya,* p. 451.

13. Om Prakash, *Political Ideas in the Purāṇas,* Allahabad, 1977, p. 474.

14. Cited in *Rājanītiprakāśa,* p. 478.

15. *Arthaśāstra,* I.19.

16. Separate Kaliṅga Edict I and Pillar Edict IV in Bhandarkar, D. R., *Aśoka,* pp. 323 and 303f respectively.

The ancient Greeks who thought of the state as an institution conducive to moral excellence made education an essential part of their political thought.[17] In ancient India morality was not something created or made possible by the state without which man was either a beast or a god.[18] Here, man was sufficiently human even without state and hence it formed no essential function of the state to introduce human or moral content in him through a well designed system of education. Here, man was to educate himself according to his own lights as seen through the eyes of wisdom made available by practices of austerity and meditation. The entire lore of the *Ṛgveda* and the other Vedas was perceived by such seers of wisdom gifted with spiritual sight and it was in the attempt to preserve and perpetuate that wisdom of the *ṛṣis* that the ancient Indian system of education was born.[19] Whatever contributions the heterodox schools, such as Buddhism and Jainism, had to make in this field was also based ultimately on the aim of preserving and propagating the teachings of the great heretical seers of truth. But as all the truth and knowledge were thought to be as ultimately one, the differences of sects and creeds disappeared at the highest level of learning and wisdom. That is why educational development in ancient India did not proceed on the lines of sectarian differentiation. Orthodox subjects too found a place in

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17. Barker, E., *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, New York, 1959, p. 127.

18. *The Politics of Aristotle*, Trans. by William Ellis, London, New York, 1935, p. 4.

19. Mookerji, R. K., *Ancient Indian Education*, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, 1969 (Reprint), pp. 34f., 77f.

the syllabus of a Buddhist University such as the Nālandā.[20] As a vehicle of wisdom and knowledge, education in ancient India permeated to entire fabric of our culture and, in a way, constituted its source. If, therefore, state was not an end in itself, it had no option but to promote and propagate the education as traditionally developed by non-political agencies.

There are numerous instances of kings taking active interest in the affairs of education since the earliest times which shows that state and political power were never probably an end in themselves. Thus, in the *Atharvaveda* a king is said to have guarded his kingdom by *brahmacarya*.[21] In the later Vedic texts there are several examples of kings instructing the famous Brāhmaṇa teachers and being acknowledged as superior in learning and wisdom.[22] Instances of holding learned discussions and tournaments by kings in their courts are not wanting. Victors on these occasions were suitably rewarded or were allowed to carry home costly and attractive trophies already declared by the king.[23] Kings did all this not because they were obliged to do so but because they wanted to participate and to contribute their little bit in the great cultural concourse which was spontaneously going on. It was not so much the question of patronage as of justifying the *raison d'être* of the political authority in a positive manner.

Originating in this context political theories of ancient India appearing from the Dharmasūtras onward could not

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 566.

21. *Atharvaveda,* XI.5 cf. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

22. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 137f.

remain indifferent to education, neither could they reduce education to a mere aspect of the state necessary for fulfilling its moral mission which it is naturally destined to serve. Right from Gautama[24] to Kauṭilya,[25] Manu,[26] and all the subsequent thinkers,[27] a *śrotriya* or a learned Brāhmaṇa has been declared a responsibility of the state, simply because his household is to act as a centre of education and dissemination of Vedic learning. The Vedic education was placed on the pedestal of such a high ideal that to charge a fee from the student was a taboo.[28] How can the intellectual father of the desciple depend for his livelihood upon the fees to be charged from his student-son ?[29] The teacher, his household and the band of his disciples, therefore, depended on the charity of the householders of the locality and on the support of the king. The king made the *śrotriya* not only exempt from all the state taxes but helped him by making liberal donations of land, wealth, villages and other means of livelihood.[30] To this was added another means of income to the teachers through private donations and *gurudakṣiṇā* or the gift offered by the disciple at the end of his studies.[31] In case of poor students this gift was paid

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24. *Gautama,* X.9-11.
25. Manu, VII, 87, 134.
26. *Arthaśāstra,* II.1.
27. For references in subsequent works see Kane, *op. cit.,* p. 59.
28. Mookerji, *op. cit.,* p. 219.
29. *Ibid.,* pp. 67.101.
30. *Arthaśāstra,* II.1.
31. Das, *Educational System of the Ancient Hindus,* p. 120; Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana quoted by Mookerji (*op. cit.,* pp. 25f) enumerate *gurudakṣiṇā* as one of the sources of the property of the learned Brāhmaṇas. See also *Manu,* II.245 and *Mānasollāsa, Vol.* I, p. 12.

either by rich individuals or, more frequently, by the king.[32] Epigraphic sources reveal the existence of a large number of educational establishments supported by rich endowments of land, wealth and villages by the king. In the South, Sātavāhanas started the practice of importing learned Brāhmaṇas from the North and setting them up into a colony.[33] This practice was followed by the kings of other dynasties, as for example, the Kadambas who brought 32 Brāhmaṇa families from the North and settled them in the *agrahāra* of Talagunda.[34] Other South Indian inscriptions refer to such newly founded colonies of the learned Brāhmaṇas for educational purposes. As the result of these state endowments there grew up in South India institutions called *ghaṭikā, agrahāra* and *brahmapurīs*.[35] In these orthodox institutions heretical subjects, such as the Buddhist philosophy, were also taught. The fact that the kings and princes of South India were importing large number of learned Brāhmaṇa families from the North indicates that in the North similar educational institutions have already developed to a considerable extent.

Although Buddha founded his religious order on the principle of renunciation which required the aspirant to give up all his belongings, the Saṃgha was allowed to own property in its collective capacity. Generous gifts from the

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32. Example of the pupil of Varatantu, viz., Kautsa, illustrates the wide prevalence of this practice in case of the kings. An inscription of Devapāla mentions the grant of a scholarship by him to a student of Nalāndā, *E. I.*, Vol. XVII, p. 311.

33. *Epigraphia Carnatica,* Vol. IX, Sk. 263.

34. Mookerji, *ob. cit.*, 372.

35. *Ibid.*.

state and private individuals gradually developed Buddhist monasteries into big centres of education recognised as ancient Indian Universities. Nālandā, Valabhī, Vikramaśilā, Somapura, Jagaddala and Udbāṇḍapur were specially famous.[36] Kings, both Indian and foreign and rich individuals, vied with each other in their generosity to these institutions. But there is no denying of the fact that Buddhist education was founded on the same fundamental principle of public charity on which the orthodox education ultimately rested. Even after the growth of rich endowments and extensive property belonging to educational institutions, begging by the seekers of education was considered a virtue, nay a duty, the violation of which entailed a penance.[37] This shows that education was elevated to the position of a cultural value, a distinction for which the state and the individuals equally aspired. The cause of education was made so noble that the teacher was ready to take a vow of perpetual poverty to be able to serve it, the students had to turn beggers to get it, and the kings and rich individuals had to be extra-ordinarily generous to support a social enterprize being pursued in such a missionary spirit without being, in the least, necessarily dependent on the support of the state.

Education was a supremely valued virtue because it was religious, or something more than religious, as *dharma* which was looked upon as the differential between man and

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36. Yadava, B. N. S., *Society and Culture in Northern India*, Allahabad 1973, pp. 404f.

37. Bṛhaspati and Yājñavalkya cited in *Prāyaścittaviveka*, pp. 396ff.

animal[38] was capable of encompassing many a religious sect within its fold. Unlike the ancient Greek concept of man as a political animal the ancient Indian notion of man held him to be a *dhārmika* animal who attains the fulfilment of his being and personality in *dharma* rather than in the political life which he is destined to evolve, according to Greek thought. The Indian *homo dharmicus,* therefore, placed the principle of *dharma* at the apex of his value-system and considered both education and the state as aspects of it. By pursuing education as one's mission of life or supporting it, one was actually pursuing and practising *dharma* be he a teacher of the Vedas, a Buddhist or Jaina *bhikṣu,* a student, an ordinary householder giving alms to *brahmacārīs* or *bhikṣus,* a rich citizen donating liberally to a temple or monastic establishment or a king creating religious-cum-educational endowments for the support of the persons actively engaged in these pursuits.

State support to education did not exhaust the religious functions of the state. It was considered virtuous for the state to perform sacrifices,[39] construct *stūpas* and

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38. *Dharma* is supposed to be the differential because man is the only creature in the universe endowed with the freedom of will and action. The principle of *dharma* which is immanent alike in the cosmic and human conduct of life is open to the comprehension and observance of man alone. A man without *dharma* is, therefore, equivalent to any other form of life. For further elaboration see Om Prakash, *Political Ideas in the Purāṇas,* pp. 28f, 121ff.

39. Kangle, R. P., *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, Part III : A Study,* p. 156.

temples,[40] enforce penances[41] and arrange religious festivals and ceremonies in the villages.[42] Over and above these, the orthodox theorists expected from the king even the daily worship of the Deity, observance of *nitya* and *naimittika* rites,[43] punishment of the village where Brāhmaṇas do not observe their duties,[44] eliminating of the *śūdra* given to religious practices, etc.[45] These sectarian claims of the orthodox were counter-balanced by the exhortations of the Buddhists and Jains to renounce all violence, to conquer by sheer force of love and friendliness and to practice virtues of non-violence, endurance and self-sacrifice even at the cost of one's own kingdom and life.[46] But these sectarian demands were probably honoured more in breach than in observance. It appears that the political authority paid little heed to these extravagant religious demands of sectarians and governed in accordance with the light of its own *śāstra* and custom. That is why it looked as *thoroughly secular* to B. K. Sarkar.[47] State in

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40. *Arthaśāstra,* I.20.2 ; II.2.25, 13.2.25, etc. *Skanda,* X.2.10 ; *Padma,* VI.244.3-35.

41. Lingat, *The Classical Law of India,* p. 223.

42. *Vṛddha Hārīta,* IX.1.4,5.

43. *Ibid.,* XII.274.

44. *Ibid.,* VII.211.

45. *Atrismṛti,* I.10.

46. Chakkavatti sīhanada-sutta of *Dīghanikāya* as summarised by Bhandarkar, D. R., *Aśoka,* pp. 203-206. For other instances of royal self-sacrifice see Winternitz, *History of Sanskrit Literature,* Vol. II, pp. 141f., 149.

47. Sarkar, B. K., *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus,* Leipzig, 1922, p. 13f.

ancient India was patently an aspect of *dharma*, but it consistently resisted all attempts to reduce it to a mere partisanship of any religious denomination whatsoever. To a particular religious denomination it extended its patronage according to its means and without discrimination, but to the principle of *dharma* as manifest through the *śāstra* and usage it extended its allegiance.

Much stress was laid on the philanthropic activities of the state from the time of the *Gautama Dharmasūtra* onward. The list of such activities in Gautama includes the maintenance of those without livelihood, protection of the property and person of the minor, widows and those unfit to transact legal business, providing for the dependents of the deceased soldiers and the deceased prince, maintenance of eunuchs and imbeciles, looking for the general welfare of the people and arranging the entertainment for the twice-born.[48] Elaborating these provisions further, quotations from *Śaṅkha- Likhita* spell out the kind of help that the poor, the troubled, the orphans, the decapacitated, widows, minors and old people are to receive from the state. They are to get medicines, shelter, food and clothing.[49] Nārada,[50] Kātyāyana[51] and other later smṛtikāras[52] look upon the king as the protector of the unprotected, home of the homeless, son of those without a progeny and father of those without father. The *Mahābhārata*,[53] the *Agni Purāṇa*[54] and the

48. Summary given in Gupta, R. K., *op. cit.*, pp. 143f.

49. *Śaṅkhalikhita Dharmaśāstra,* 244, 247-8, 25.

50. *Nārada,* XI.43.

51. Bandyopadhyaya, N. C., *Kātyāyanamata-Saṃgraha,* p. 2.

52. *Vṛddha Gautama,* Pt. III.

53. Anuśāsana cited by *Pārāśaramādhavīya,* I, p. 466.

54. *Agni,* 222.14.

author of the *Mānasāra*[55] enjoin upon the king to dig wells, construct rest houses, tanks and *prapās* (a place where water is distributed to the travellers), plant shady trees on the roadside, etc. Apart from the Dharmaśāstra and the Epic-purāṇic tradition, such philanthropic activities of the state have been stressed by the *Arthaśāstra*[56] and the Buddhist tradition.[57] The virtues of *Karuṇā* and *maitrī* advocated by Buddhism went a long way in shaping the attitude of the Buddhist kings of ancient India such as Aśoka and Kaniṣka. The Jaina king Khārvela the Vaiṣṇava Guptas and the rulers of other subsequent dynasties belonging to different faiths were by no means less philanthropic in their attitudes. Although we know little about the welfare activities of Kaniṣka apart from his generous patronage extended to the Buddhist and the tradition of his building numerous stūpas and monasteries, his popularity at a par with that of Aśoka in the Buddhist tradition decides the kind of the monarch he was. Aśoka has put on record a number of his activities pertaining to the good of the people. In the Rock Edict II he refers to his establishing of the hospitals for men and animals and to the arrangement for the acquisition, quick transport and implanting of medicinal herbs and plants from any corner of the country and from abroad.[58] His Pillar Edict VII mentions his building of the rest houses, watering places, planting of the shady trees on the roadside and the support he extended to the aged.[59] Construction of the Sudarśana lake by his grandfather Can-

55. *Mānasāra,* I Chap. 19.
56. Kangle, *op. cit., pp.* 156ff ; *Arthaśāstra,* II.1.
57. Supra, fn. 42.
58. Bhandarkar, D. R., *op. cit.,* p. 261.
59. *Ibid.,* pp. 315-318.

dragupta Maurya and the addition of irrigation canals to it in his own reign appear in a subsequent inscription.[60] The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela shows that he spent 35 lakhs in restoring the damages done by storm in the first year of his reign. We are also informed by the same source of the irrigational establishment constructed by even the Nanda rulers in Kaliṅga who are known to have had the reputation of being extremely miserly in the traditional accounts. Besides renovating the old irrigation work, Khāravela also constructed embankments round the Khabira lake in Kaliṅga and improved all public gardens of his capital city.[61] Many more such philanthropic activities of the subsequent kings can be enumerated.

State in ancient India did not rest content with the sorts of welfare activities enumerated above. It also tried to accomplish the good of the people by interfering and adjusting the socio-economic sphere of life. As early a writer as Gautama enjoins upon the king the duty of clearing the forests for extending the area of cultivation.[62] *Śaṅkha-Likhita* lays down that the king should provide appropriate employment to those Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas who cannot maintain themselves by the methods prescribed by the *śāstra*. State maintenance is to be provided to the Śūdras as well, if they are out of job and when receiving such a

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60. Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions,* Vol. I, p. 176-180. In the course of excavations at Vidiśā the remains of 68 ft. long walls of a Mauryan canal have been found. The canal joined the Besa river. *Indian Archaeology a Review.* 1964-65, pp. 17f ; 1965-66, pp. 43ff.

61. Sircar, *op. cit.,* pp. 214-219.

62. *Gautama,* XIX, 35f.

help from the state, they are advised to apply their skill for the benefit of the state.[63] Subsequent works of the Dharmaśāstra tradition do refer to the exercise of state control on all the means of acquiring wealth by private enterprize through the devices of price-control,[64] regulation of the interest-rate,[65] protection of the interest of the producers, traders, labourers and consumers against each other,[66] but the treatment of state economy in the *Arthaśāstra* alone is so full as to give us an adequate idea of state's welfare activities in the domain of socio-economic life. We shall therefore, delineate these activities of the ancient India state mainly on the basis of this text. Normative as the treatise

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63. *Śaṅkhalikhita* cited in *Rājanītiprakāśa*, p. 141.

64. *Manu*, VIII, 401 ; *Yāj.*, II.253 refer to the fixation of prices by the king. Kātyāyana (cited in *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, p. 352) describes a novel mode of deciding the price of fields, gardens, houses and the like by such neighbours assembled as are afraid of committing sin. For customary character of prices see *Derrett, Religion, Law and State in India*, p. 188 ; Pushpa Niyogi, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India*, p. 163.

65. A large humber of interest rates are laid down in the Dhārmaśāstras which gives us the impression that the king had probably no say in the matter and the rates were customarily prevalent in different areas and in different cases. But a rule that the interest stops flowing the moment a king dies and starts running again since the coronation of the new king shows that actually much depended upon the king in respect of the smooth transaction of the business of usury. Hazards of recovery would have given of king sufficient regulative powers in the matter. See Kane, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 419-427.

66. Gupta, R. K., *op. cit.*, Section 62.

of Kauṭilya is, it may be taken to prescribe a model of administrative set-up which was followed in its essentials even in the subsequent periods subject to the factual conditions obtaining at the time.

The *Arthaśāstra* understands economic activities in terms of *Vārtā* which includes agriculture, cattle rearing and trade,[67] and *ākara* (mining)-*karmānta* (industry).[68] It visualises some sort of state control on all these. Although in theory all land belonged to the state, individuals were allowed rights of individual ownership without detriment to the general and overall ownership of the state.[69] Owners (*kṣetrika*) were clearly distinguished from tenants (*upavāsa*).[70] But all the cultivable land was not allowed to go in the possession of the private individuals. State too entered the field probably as the biggest single farmer and got the state farms worked by *dāsa* (slaves), *karmakāra* (labourer) *daṇḍapratikartṛs* (such offenders as had to render service in lieu of the fines imposed on them for the offence) under the supervision of such state officers as *sītādhyakṣa, gopas* and *samāhartṛs*.[71] Agricultural land was, however, a surplus commodity and the state had to encourage fresh settlements on unoccupied land by promising certain inducements.[72] State's entry into agricultural production in such a big way was considered necessary for self-sufficiency

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67. *Arth.*, I.4.1.

68. *Ibid.*, II.2 To these may be added *Kārukṣīlavakarma* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*, I.3.8.

69. Kangle, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

70. *Arth.*, III.9.15-17.

71. *Ibid.*, II.24.1-3 ; II.35.1-5.

72. *Ibid.*, II.1.2-3.

as also for building a buffer stock to cope with exigencies of natural calamities, wars and artificial scarcity likely to be created by the traders. Another major contribution of the state in the field of agricultural production was the construction of irrigation works,[73] which, besides being a source of revenue to the state, was a welfare activity. It also protected the interest of the agricultural labour by fixing their wages.[74]

With the development of large-scale agriculture, cattle rearing was reduced to the status of an activity supplementary to cultivation of farms. But state had to enter even this economic pursuit in a big way for ensuring supply of cattle-power to the state farms and also to facilitate massive communication of goods and weapons in a military enterprize. Owing of large animal preserves by the state, however, was ultimately beneficial for the people in so far as it created avenues of employment for the common man. Herds were tended by persons who were either employed by the state on a salary (*vetanopagrāhika*) or by cowherds on the agreement of paying a fixed amount of *ghee* per year (*karapratikara*). Cattle-rearing as practised by the state was thus a welfare activity.[75]

Trade constituted the third aspect of *vārtā*. Its wider definition included also the production of the merchandise and *kusīda* (money-lending), besides the more familiar meaning of commercial transactions. But as in Kauṭilya, production of, at least, primary goods has been considered

73. Kangle, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

74. *Arth.*, II.24.28.

75. Kangle, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

separately in the *ākara-karmānta* section. We shall be dealing with only the first two in this context. Commercial transactions have been committed to strict control[76] of the state for the obvious reason that they are a source of substantial income to it. But as the good of the state is subordinated to the good of the people, such a control of trade and commerce by the state was, at the same time, conducive to their welfare as well. As a sort of inducement to traders to carry on commercial activities in his kingdom, the king is advised to construct routes, arrange ferries[77] and eradicate dangers of robbery and loot on them.[78]

An officer known as the *paṇyādhyakṣa* was authorised to inspect all the goods that came to the market and to fix the price taking into account the money invested, interest rates, duties, rent, etc. A profit of five per cent for indigenous and the double of it on foreign goods was allowed.[79] Fixation of price through the promulgation of the royal decree is also visualised.[80] It is clear from the text that the laws of supply and demand were not permitted to fluctuate the prices irrespective of consumer's interest.[81] The state authority always stepped in, the moment any of such imbalances appeared to attract the attention. If price-rise was met with by a policy of state control, any sudden slump in the prices was counteracted by centralising the

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76. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
77. *Arth.*, II.28.25.
78. *Ibid.*, II.16.18; II.28.25.
79. *Ibid.*, IV.2.36; IV.2.28-30.
80. Srivastava, B., *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, p. 233. *Arth.*, II.16.7-8.
81. *Arth.*, II.16.1-3.

sale of the commodity. The object was to hold the balance and to allow the producer, trader, the consumer and above all the state to have what was their respective due.[82] Such a policy obviously protected all the participants of the activities of commercial transactions and did not allow either the free competition to ruin anybody among the traders or impoverish the consumer beyond the limits of his endurance. It also protected the state from being swindled by the traders and smugglers. It was primarily with this end in view that the state entered the market as an importer and exporter of goods[83] besides the private individuals, as a regulator of weights and measures[84] and as protector of the traders and consumers. If a caravan was looted on its way to a certain city in the kingdom the loss was to be made good by the officers incharge of the place.[85] The state also had the authority to regulate rates of interest from time to time.[86]

All mines were a monopoly of the state, though it did not work all of them and leased out many of them for exploitation by private enterpreneurs.[87] State-run mines were worked by a large number of labourers belonging to *dāsa*, *karmakāra* and *daṇḍapratikartṛ* varieties.[88] Metal, salt and

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82. Kangle, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

84. *Arth.*, IV.2.3ff.

85. *Ibid.*, IV.13.7-10.

86. *Ibid.*, III.11.1. See also Majumdar, R. C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 10; Mookerji, R. K., *Local Self-Government in Ancient India*, p. 98.

87. Kangle, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

88. *Arth.*, II.24.2.

other basic industries attached to the mines were monopolised by the state and there was hardly any scope left for the individual enterprizes in this field.[89] Textile industry too was a state monopoly looked after by the *sūtrādhyakṣa*. This industry provided mass employment to a number of such women who had the need to support themselves. It is laid down in the *Arthaśāstra* that the destitute women and widows of higher classes who cannot go out for work in the workshop are to spin at there homes and the *sūtrādhyakṣa* has to make arrangements for the collection of the yarn and the payment of the wages.[90] More or less complete monopoly on the mines, metal products and textile placed the state at the commanding position over all the economic and mercantile activities. It was not only difficult but practically impossible for any individual entrepreneur to compete with the state or ignore its commands or recommendations, much less to defy them. As state was the guardian of people's welfare, it seldom allowed the common good to be trampelled by the interest of the rich and wealthy.[91]

3. *The question of the applicability of the western concept*

The foregoing survey of the essentials of the Western concept of welfare state and the welfare activities of the

89. These may have been leased out to the individuals for a share of hire. *Arth.*, II 12.28. For state run provisions for turning out finished articles from the workshops or factories attached to mines of the metalic ores see *Arth.*, II.12.23 and II.12.27.

90. Kangle, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

91. Though Kangle (*op. cit.*, pp. 183ff) is right in contending Kosambi's opinion that Kauṭilya knew the value of heavy industries in the modern sense of the term, the very mention of them as important state activities undoubtedly makes it a commanding economic power as well.

ancient Indian state shows that there is much in common so far as the concrete welfare activities of the two states are concerned. But viewed more closely, the concept of modern welfare state is far from being identical with the notion of the ancient Indian state. The beginnings of the idea of welfare state in the West may be traced back to the situation arising out of the imposition of inhuman conditions upon industrial workers as the result of the general acceptance of the principle of *laissez faire* state[92] advocated by Bentham, Adam Smith and others among the early liberals. The wrongs parpetrated by the industrialists in their craze to earn more, upon the workers of the factories turned even the best supporters of the absolute freedom of economic enterprize partly against them.[93] The liberals of the generation of John Stuart Mill began to think in terms of imposing judicious restraint upon the freedom and power of the industrialists to parpetrate wrongs upon humanity, while yet reiterating their faith in the fundamentals of liberalism and the creed of personal liberties, including the liberty to pursue the otherwise unrestrained economic enterprizes.[94] In Mill the source of welfarism is still the pleasure of man,[95] but of a higher type while in Green it becomes the question of the Higher Will of the individual.[96] State, according to him, is based on that very will and not on force.[97] The creed of liberalism was thus un-

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92. Ebbestein, *op. cit.*, p. 675.

93. Sabine, G. H., *A History of Political Theory*, Fourth ed. New Delhi, 1973, p. 675.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 644ff.

95. Mill, J. S., *On Liberty*, Chap. 3.

96. Green, T. H., *Political Obligation*, Section 155.

97. Barker, E., *Political Thought in England*, 1848 to 1914 London, 1951, p. 23.

dergoing progressive modification on the lines of idealism propounded by Kant and his disciples, but was at the time holding fast its insistence on anti-authoritarian attitude characteristic of liberalism and democracy.[98] The conscious promulgation of the idea of welfare state after the First World War was actually a clear formulation of these revisionist liberal tendencies motivated by the anxiety to escape the two extremes of Fascism and Socialism. If theorists like Schumpeter consider the proposition of the welfare state as totally ineffective in checking the evils that capitalism and industrialism are capable of parpetrating on human society in the so-called free state,[99] the appraisal of others, such as Max Lerner, sees in it the instrument of obtaining the advantages of capitalism without being affected by the evil aspects of it.[100] Like Bentham, the founder of analytical jurisprudence, all the theorists of liberal ideology look upon state as a man-made institution which is consciously created by law and is modified, equally consciously, through legislation. Customs, tradition and historical progression have little relevance in an ideology which derives all morality from the pragmatic principle of pleasure and pain and measures the success of the political institution

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98. Lines were no doubt set by the German idealists but the inspiration of modification came in the wake of the spontaneous response to the situation which showed that "liberty for the manufacturer and the seller was not necessarily liberty for the worker". Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 3, 12.

99. Schumpeter, J. A., "The Welfare State through Inflation to collectivism", *American Economic Review,* Vol. XL, 1950

100. Max Lerner, "The Welfare State : An Affirmative View", *The American Scholar,* Vol. XIX, 1950.

through the commercially calculated theory of the greatest good of the greatest number.[101]

The notion of ancient Indian state did not approach the theory of welfare state as developed through the last few centuries in the West even distantly. It is, on the contrary, an institution of precapitalist and preindustrial society. State in it was not looked upon as a man-made institution which people could consciously modify or change according to their needs or will. It was something sanctimonious received from tradition and worthy of being honoured as a visible manifestation of the regulative aspect of the Cosmic Order or *dharma*.[102] The idea of welfare state was, on the other hand, wedded to the principle of personal liberties granting the individual all freedom and equality within the perview of the civil society. So long as his activities do not disrupt the peace and harmony of civil society, individual is allowed to do anything he liked. He is also treated as equal to every other individual without the distinction of birth, wealth or status in the eyes of law.[103] In the heirarchical Hindu society these notions do not fit in at all, and hence the applicability of the Western notion of the welfare state to ancient Indian context, solely on account of certain welfare activities pursued by the ancient Indian state, is simply out of question.

Ancient Indian welfarism should be traced to the ancient Indian sense of justice. Here justice was neither derived from human nature as was the case with the Greeks nor from the nature of the Almighty Gods in the case of

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101. Sabine, *op. cit.*, pp. 612-17.

102. Om Prakash, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 82, 122ff.

103. *Supra.*, fn. 97.

Christianity. Here the principle of justice was embodied in the principle of *dharma*. But justice did not exhaust the concept of *dharma*. *Dharma* was something more, though it wholly encompassed the idea of justice. It has been conceived as the governing principle of the cosmic order.[104] It controls not only men but also gods and nature. It is a sort of cosmic law and, therefore, ancient Indian justice was also the cosmic sense of justice.

Man was basically conceived as a *dhārmika* animal and similarly the social order and the order of the physical world, as we find them, are based ultimately on *dharma*. Without *dharma* they would have been quite otherwise. *Dharm*a thus expresses itself through these institutions and through the nature of man. There is no question of its being man-made. Man comprehends it by reaching back to his native purity and through the working of the *dhārmika* institutions of the physical and the human worlds. Divine world again is an aspect of *dharma* and so are the religious institutions of *yajña* and asceticism and the ethical categories of virtue and sin. The justice of *dharma* is all-pervading and runs like a golden thread through the law of *karma*, the law of the coercive government of the state, the law of religious rewards and the law of salvation.

The categories of virtue and vice, good and bad are known through the Vedas (*śrutis*) and the *smṛtis* which represent the human eyes of knowledge, knowledge of the cosmic law of *dharma* and justice. No individual knowledge is a match to this collective wisdom of humanity accumulated through the ages. Man, therefore, ought to be told what is just and unjust, what is good and bad and what

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104. Om Prakash, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 122-124.

is virtue and vice. That which is not to be found in the *Vedas* or the *smṛtis* on account of the inadequacy of human comprehension is to be learnt from the custom of the virtuous, for the expression of law and justice through the life of the virtuous must of necessity be complete or in process of being so. The Indians observed the duties imposed upon them by the social order and religion as customarily developed or sanctioned by the Vedas and the Smṛtis because they believed them to be conducive to their good. The state carried on the welfare activities because they were sanctioned by the sense of justice as learnt from the Vedas and the Smṛtis as also by the customs of the virtuous.

"MAURYA—SACIVA" OF MĀLAVIKĀGNIMITRAM OF KĀLIDĀSA—AN APPRAISAL

Dr. Sudarshan Kumar Sharma

Bhatinda

In this article, an attempt has been made to identify the person characterised as 'Maurya-Saciva' and brother-in-law of Yajñasena—king of Vidarbha—in *Māl.* I.7 who was imprisoned by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga after assassinating the last Maurya king Bṛhadratha. On the basis of the events narrated in the *Māl.* and the *Harṣacarita*, the author concludes that "Maurya—Saciva" was none else but Mitradeva who was released by Agnimitra on the occasion of victory of his son Vasumitra over the Yavanas and who later on killed Vasumitra amidst the actors.

Mālavikāgnimitram (*Mal.*) of Kālidāsa, apart from depicting the love episode of Mālavikā and Agnimitra, depicts sober history of the times of the Śuṅga monarchs—Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra. The reigning King depicted as such is Agnimitra while Puṣyamitra is the Commander-in-Chief, the erstwhile monarch superannuated as such. Vasumitra is the son of Agnimitra and grandson of Puṣyamitra, detailed on duty as an army-in-Chief for the subjugation of the Yavanas.[1] Vīrasena,[2] the varṇāvara bro-

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1. सारसक--यदाप्रभृति [illegible] सेनापतिना यज्ञतुरंगरक्षणे नियुक्तो भर्तृदारको वसुमित्र इति तदाप्रभृति तस्यायुषो निमित्तमष्टादशसुवर्णप्रमाणां दक्षिणां देवी दक्षिणीयैः परिग्राहयति। *Māl.*, ed. M. R. Kale, Act V, p. 162, ed. C. R. Devadhar, 1966, p. 128.

C. H. Tawney's Text reedited by Dr. Rewa Prasad Dwivedi shows variance in reading in यतः प्रभृति for यदाप्रभृति and ततःप्रभृति for तदाप्रभृति and निष्कशत सुवर्णपरिमाणां for अष्टादशसुवर्णपरिमाणाम् etc. p. 126.

2. वशीकृतः किल वीरसेनप्रमुखैर्भर्तृविजयदण्डैर्विदर्भनाथः मोचितश्चास्य दायादो माधवसेनः *Ibid.*, M. R. Kale. मोचितोऽस्य दायादो माधवसेनः C. H. Tawney, p. 127.

ther of Dhāriṇī—the Chief-Queen—has been detailed on duty as the army in chief of the battalions meant to subjugate Yajñasena, the Principal offender capturing Mādhavasena, the would be brother-in-law of Agnimitra and his own cousin taking away Mālavikā for a matrimonial alliance with Agnimitra supplicated with a view to solving the dispute over the division of Kingdom of Vidarbha between himself and Yajñasena who on his own part was justified enough in so far as his own brother-in-law styled as "Maurya Saciva"[3] had been interned by Puṣyamitra through expert strategy after the successful coup of the assassination of Bṛhadratha, the last of the Mauryan Emperors[4] who had been lured into confidence for an inspection of the Army parade. "प्रज्ञादुर्बलञ्च बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदर्शिताशेषसैन्यः, सेनानीः अनार्य्यो मौर्यं वृहद्रथं पिपेष पुष्यमित्रः स्वामिनम्।[5]

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3. अमात्यः इदमिदानीमनेन प्रतिलिखितम् । पूज्येनाहमादिष्टः—पितृव्यपुत्रो भवतः कुमारो माधवसेनः प्रतिश्रुतसम्बन्धो ममोपान्तिकमुपगच्छन्नन्तरात्वदीयेनान्तपालेनावस्कद्य गृहीतः। स त्वया मदपेक्षया सकलत्रसोदर्यो मोक्तव्य इति। तन्न वो न विदितं यत्तुल्याभिजनेषु भूमिहरेषु राज्ञां वृत्तिरीदृशी। अतोऽत्र मध्यस्थः पूज्यो भवितुमर्हति। सोदर्या पुनरस्य ग्रहणविप्लवे विनष्टा। तदन्वेषणाय प्रयतिष्ये। अथावश्यमेव माधवसेनो मया पूज्येन मोचयितव्यः । श्रूयतामभिसन्धिः ।

मौर्यसचिवं विमुञ्चति यदि पूज्यः संयतं मम श्यालम्।
मोक्ता माधवसेनं ततोऽहमपि बन्धनात्सद्यः ॥

Māl., M. R. Kale, Act I, p. 18; C. R. Devdhar, pp. 12, 14; C. H. Tawney, p. 12 has एतन्ननु वो विदितम् for तन्न वो न विदितम्। and मोक्ता माधवसेनस्ततो मया बन्धनात्सद्यः for मोक्ता माधवसेनं ततोऽहमपि बन्धनात्सद्यः। and उपसर्पन् for उपगच्छन् ।

4. *Harṣacarita,* Cal. ed., VI, p. 642; ed., Dr. Jagannatha Pathak, 1972, p. 353; N. S. P. ed., 1946, p. 199; ed., P. V. Kane, p. 51.

5. *Ibid.*

The "Maurya Saciva" referred to in verse No. 7 (Act I) of *Māl.* has not been defined here quite genuinely. An attempt is being made in this paper to determine the correct identity of this man. He has been characterised as a nearest kin to Yajñasena, the King of Vidarbha. His internment was a natural fallacy meant to subvert in anticipation all effort on the part of the followers of Bṛhadratha. Having been interned by Puṣyamitra he continued to be in the prison even during the reign of Agnimitra wherein Yajñasena found an opportunity to effect his release by the counter internment of Mādhavasena, his cousin turned an ally of Agnimitra for the claim of half of the Kingdom of Vidarbha.

The Crux of the problem under question here being the correct identification of the "Maurya Saciva" we shall have to review the historicity of the point whereby the person concerned was interned. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita* (*HC*) is the most reliable source whereby we come to know of the coup resulting in the assassination of Bṛhadratha, the last of the Mauryan Kings and the enthronement of Puṣyamitra as a forerunner of the Śuṅga dynasty.[6] *Vāyu*[7] (*Vā. P.*) and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (*Vi. P.*) also agree on this point and prove the historicity of this happening which has been represented by F. W. Thomas and E. B. Cowell as under—

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6. *Ibid.*

7. पुष्यमित्रस्तु सेनानीरुद्धृत्य वै बृहद्रथम् ।
कारयिष्यति वै राज्यम् समाः षष्टिं सदैव तु ॥
Vā. P., Adh. 99, verse 337, p. 516.

8. पुष्यमित्रः सेनापतिः स्वामिनं हत्वा राज्यं करिष्यति तस्यात्मजोऽग्निमित्रः । *Vi. P.*, G. P. ed., IV.24.34, p. 359.

"A base-born general Puṣpamitra, pounded his foolish Maurya Master Brihadratha having displayed his whole Army on the pretext of Manifesting his power"[9]

The name Puṣpamitra translated from the N. S. P. ed. is a wrong expression for Puṣyamitra available in the Calcutta ed., J. N. Pathaka's ed. and Dr. P. V. Kane's edition. *Vā. P.* has also the reading Puṣpamitra while *Vi. P.* has 'Puṣyamitra'. *Vā. P.* is silent regarding the name of the son of Puṣyamitra while *Vi. P.* has it as Agnimitra.

Dr. Hemachandra Raychaudhari believes in the historicity of this coup when he says "The last of the Imperial Maurya of Magadha, Bṛhadratha is mentioned not only in the Purāṇas but also in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*. He was crushed by his general Puṣyamitra who is perhaps wrongly described by the *Divyāvadāna* as of Maurya descent. A Maurya minister is said to have been imprisoned by the regicide family".[10] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[11] (*Bhā. P.*) also concurs with the *Vi. P.* in line with the drama *Māl.* wherein also Agnimitra is the son of Puṣyamitra and Vasumitra is the son of Agnimitra and grandson of Puṣyamitra. Dr. R. S. Tripathi (HOAI p. 180) and Dr. R. C. Majumdar (AHOAI p. 111) also agree with the view of a coup at the hands of

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9. *HC*, N. S. P., ed., p. 193 (Eng. tr.).

10. *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 353, p. 369; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1961, p. 240; *The Later Mauryas in Indian History*, G. S. Gai, *VIJ*, Hoshiarpur, XV Pt. I; *The Mauryas after Aśoka*, Vasiṣṭha Dev Mohan Mehta, 1977, p. 75.

11. हत्वा वृहद्रथं मौर्यं तस्य सेनापतिः कलौ।
पुष्यमित्रस्तु शुङ्गाह्वः स्वयं राज्यं करिष्यति।
G. P., ed., XII.1.16, p. 731.

Puṣyamitra and are unanimous in affording credence to the historicity of the events detailed in the *Māl.* of Kālidāsa and the *Harṣacarita.* Even E. J. Rapson in *'Cambridge History of India'* remarks–

"We are told that Puṣyamitra, the Commander-in-chief of Bṛhadratha–the last of the Mauryas, slew his master and reigned in his stead."[12]

Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya also on the evidence of the Purāṇas and the *HC* of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa[13] dates the coronation of Puṣyamitra in 187 B.C., styles him a man of low origin, and infers that the last Maurya King was killed while he had been reviewing his army which was either a mere routine duty or occasioned by some emergency.[14] He quotes the views of Mr. H. P. Sastri thus :[15]

"At first he (Puṣyamitra) led the Maurya armies against the Greeks, who advanced year after year to the very heart of the Maurya empire. After a successful compaign he returned to Pāṭaliputra with victorious army, and the feeble representative of Aśoka on the throne accorded him a fitting reception. A camp was formed outside the city and a review was held of a large army. In the midst of the festivities an arrow struck the king on the forehead. The king expired instantly". He further comments–

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12. p. 466.

13. *Early History of North India,* p. 1.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *JASB,* 1910, p. 26.

"We do not know on what authority the account is based, but it shows at any rate that Mr. Sastri is inclined to think that a Greek invasion of India took place the very year when the Maurya dynasty came to an end".[16]

Dr. Babu Ram Yadav says[17]—

"Puṣyamitra, the father of the hero Agnimitra, founded the Śuṅga Kingdom at about 184 B.C., after assassinating the last Maurya king Bṛhadratha." Quoting *Vā. P.* (99.338)[18] he says—"Puṣyamitra handed over his Kingdom to his son Agnimitra. At the time of his father, Agnimitra acted as a viceroy of Vidiśā. After the death of his father he ruled for about 8 years. Beyond this, little is known authentically about his rule. The fourth king of the dynasty is said to be Vasumitra—the son of Agnimitra." Quoting from *Vi. P.* he says "The last king of this dynasty was Devabhūti who was killed by his minister Vasudeva. Thus the rule of the Śuṅgas came to an end and the kingdom of Magadha passed into the hands of an assassinator, Vasudeva".[19] *Vi. P.* details the genealogy of the Śuṅgas as under :

Puṣyamitra
Agnimitra
Sujyeṣṭha
Vasumitra
Udaṅka

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

17. *A Critical study of the Sources of Kalidasa,* pp. 70-71, ff. 144 ; cf. Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya, *Prācīna Bhārata kā itihāsa,* p. 165, *Ibid.,* p. 206.

18. ff. 154, *Ibid.,* p. 207.

19. ff. 155 ; *Vi. P.,* IV 24 and 39 Chapters. देवभूतिं तु शुङ्गराजानं व्यसनिनं तस्यैवामात्यः काण्वो वसुदेवनामा तम् निहत्य स्वयमवनिं भोक्ष्यति। G. P., ed., p. 360.

Pulindaka
Ghoṣavasu
Vajra Mitra
Bhāgavata
Deva Bhūti[20]

Dr. Babu Ram Yadav's illustration of the *Vā. P.* does not tally properly with the text of *Vā. P.*[21] The Geneology obtained in the text is—

Puṣpamitra
Eight sons of Puṣpamitra
Apitajyeṣṭha
Vasumitra
Andhraka
Rājaghoṣa
Vikramitra
Bhāgavata
Kṣemabhūmi
Devabhūmi etc.

Bhā. P. details the geneology as under :—

Puṣyamitra
Agnimitra
Sujyeṣṭha
Vasumitra
Bhadraka
Pulinda
Ghoṣa.

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20. *Vi. P.*, G. P. ed., IV.24.34-36, p. 359.

21. *Gurumaṇḍala Series*, 1959, No. XIX, Pūrvārdham, p. 516, Verses 337-344.

Vajramitra
Bhāgavata
Devabhūti[22]

Dr. R. S. Tripathi also drawing the table—

Puṣyamitra
Agnimitra
Vasujyeṣṭha or Sujyeṣṭha
Ādraka—Or Odraka
Pulindaka
Ghoṣa
Vajramitra
Bhāgavata
Devabhūti or Devabhūmi.

consolidates the line up from the Purāṇas. But *Māl.* considers Vasumitra to be the son in the direct line of Agnimitra. Kālidāsa omits Vasujyeṣṭha or Sujyeṣṭha. Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya[23] affords greater credence to the geneology drawn by Kālidāsa, when he says—

"जैसा हमें **मालविकाग्निमित्र** से ज्ञात होता है वसुमित्र की माता धारिणी और उसका पिता अग्निमित्र अपने पुत्र की विजय पर बहुत प्रसन्न होते हैं। इससे यह स्पष्ट है कि वे उसके लिये बहुत चिन्तित थे।"

Dr. Babu Ram Yadav also construes the characters—Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra etc. as undoubtedly historical, Yajñasena, Mādhavasena and Sumati as well as Bīrasena (Vīrasena) and the Maurya Saciva as seemingly historical. (*A critical study of the sources of Kālidāsa*, p. 71.)

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22. *Bhā. P.*, G. P. ed., XII 1.16-18, p. 731.

23. *Kālidāsa kā bhārata*—Bhāga 2. Pariśiṣṭa-Kha., p. 230 "Puṣyamitra ke sāmrājya kī sīmā".

The historicity of Puṣyamitra's coup, his struggle against the Yavanas, the defeat of the Yavanas at the hands of his grandson Vasumitra, his two Aśvamedha Sacrifices, Vīrasena's Victory over Yajñasena resulting in the non-release of the "Maurya Saciva" from the bondage immediately and the possible release at the victory of Vasumitra and the defeat of Yajñasena and the consequent marriage of Agnimitra with Mālavikā etc. can hardly be doubted.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa[24] refers to two more incidents rather tragedies befalling the lot of two more kings of the Śuṅga lineage—

"Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, being overfond of the drama, was attacked by Mitradeva in the midst of actors, and with a Scimitar shorn like a lotus stalk, of his head"

and

"In a frenzy of passion the over libidinous Śuṅga was at the instance of his minister Vasudeva reft of his life by a daughter of Devabhūti's slave woman disguised as his queen. i. e. Mitradeva chopped off the head of Sumitra, the son of Agnimitra as if it were a lotus fibre, with the help of a creeper like sword, having made to sit in the midst of actors, dance being inordinately coveted (by him)"

and

"Vasudeva Amātya arranged to render reft of life through the daughter of the female attendant of Devabhūti, guised as the queen, helpless as he was through cupidity addicted to the extreme to the attachment of women."[25]

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24. *HC.*, Eng., Tr. by F. W. Thomas and E. B. Cowell, p. 192.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 192. अतिदयितलास्यस्य च शैलूषमध्यमध्यास्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृणालमिवालुनादग्निमित्रात्मजस्य सुमित्रस्य मित्रदेवः।...अतिस्त्रीसङ्गरतमनङ्गपरवशम् शुङ्गममात्यो वसुदेवो देवभूतिदासीदुहित्रा देवीव्यञ्जनया वीतजीवितमकारयत्। *HC*, Cal. ed., VI. pp. 691, 693; N. S. P. ed., pp. 198, 199; ed. P. V. Kane, p. 50; ed. Jagannatha Pathak, pp. 352, 353.

Here Agnimitra's son has been named Sumitra which may be an abridged variant for Vasumitra. Inheriting information from the primeval accounts, Bāṇa could err this much that he could learn the name Sumitra in place of Vasumitra, the latter appearing to have been the eldest and the only son of Agnimitra. Purāṇas giving Vasujyeṣṭha and Sujyeṣṭha as the two variants for the same name following Agnimitra, though controvertially. Hence the identification of Sumitra and Vasumitra need not be considered a wrong proposition. In the light of this narration of Bāṇa, the identification of "Maurya Saciva" with "Mitradeva" should also be not considered on erroneous fallacy in so far as bearing long inherited grouse against Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra owing to having remained in prison for a long period of forty odd years he might have felt it pertinent to strike at the root of the Śuṅga lineage that had struck at his own roots when assuming the office of the kingship. Statecraft being a game of dice-nuts a lucky or unlucky freak of providence may make or mar the career of one playing at the dice-board. Released by Agnimitra he might have averred to wreak vengeance in favour of his own brother-in-law Yajñasena of Vidarbha pledging to seek Paramountcy for him and the opportunity having arrived owing to the inordinate penchant of Sumitra for the fine arts such as dance etc. he might have struck him as his grand sire had struck his master. Vasudeva later on got rid of Devabhūti, the last of the Śuṅgas who was an extremist on the side of philandery. The 'mantrādhikāraḥ Prakaraṇa' of the 'Vidyādhikārika Adhikaraṇa' of Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra guards against such indecencies likely to overawe the minds of the kings and the princes. Those prone to disregard it are prone to fall a prey to its viles.

Hence it is that the grouse inherited from years gone by became instrumental in the invidious camouflage indulged in by Mitradeva the "Maurya Saciva" of Bṛhadratha imprisoned for long during the reign periods of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra, the former having exercised a coup against his master, being himself a usurper throwing the supporters of the victim of the Coup into the deep caverns of the subterranean paths.

NAMES OF SANCHI (*SĀÑCĪ*)

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA

Allahabad

The author rejects the views of other scholars regarding the identification of the modern name Sāñcī with *Cetiyagiri, Kākaṇāya, Kākaṇāva* etc. as they stand for the Great Stūpa and not for the very hill called *Sāñcī*. He also sets aside the words *Śānti* and its Chinese form *Śā-cī* as the probable origin of the term *Sāñcī* and alternatively suggests two derivatives–*Sañcita*>*Sañcia*>*Sañcī* > *Sāñcī* and *Satya*>*Sacca*>*Saccī* > *Ṣāñcī*.

The modern name Sāñcī has not been mentioned in any inscription or writing. But from different sources scholars have identified Sāñcī with different ancient names such as *Cetiyagiri Kākaṇāya, Kākaṇāva, Kākanāda, Boṭa-Śrī-Mahāvihāra* and *Boṭa-Śrī-Parvvata* occurring in different inscriptions found on the railings and gateways of the Great Stūpa itself.

Cetiyagiri

According to *Mahāvaṃsa,* a Śrī Laṅkā chronicle, Mahendra, the son of Aśoka, on a missionary trip to Śrī Laṅkā, halted at Vidiśā and visited his mother Devī who lodged him at Cetiyagiri Monastery.[1] Leaving Sāñcī alone, none

1. *Mahāvaṃsa,* XIII.6-7. Another version of *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions Vidisāgiri in place of Cetiyagiri (ed. by Geiger, W., *The Mahāvaṃsa,* P.T.S., p. 88). But the parallel passages in *Mahānāmo* and *Buddhaghoso* mentioning Cetiyagiri and Vidisāgiri respectively make no difference in identification. Vidiśā was the city and the Cetiyagiri was a suburb of Vidiśā, and thus both the terms Cetiyagiri and Vidisāgiri refer to one and the same place (Cunningham, A., *Bhilsa Topes,* p. 61).

of the neighbouring hills of Vidiśā contains any remains belonging to the Mauryan age. The brick-stūpa and the Edict-Pillar were found on the hill of Sāñcī and therefore scholars[2] have correctly identified Cetiyagiri with the hill of Sāñcī which was not far off from the ancient city of Vidiśā. Cunningham has even read the name of Cetiyagiri in Aśoka's Pillar Edict found at Sāñcī hill. According to him the Edict begins as under—

Line 1 : *Devānāṁ* (*piya*) *Māgadhe* (*rājā*)
Line 2 : ..... (*a*)*bhi* (*vādema*)*nam Cetiyagiri*.....
Line 3 : .....*tikhi ca* (*dha*)*magiri* ...*ikeya saṅgham*

"The king of Magadha, the beloved of the gods, pays salutation to the Order of the Cetiyagiri and (probably) Dharmagiri".[3]

But, other scholars have not accepted the reading of Cetiyagiri in the inscription. General F. C. Maisey, who also participated in the excavation work at Sāñcī with General Cunningham, has published the inscription in question in his book *Sanchi and Its Remains* in Brāhmī characters.[4] But there is no word like Cetiyagiri.

The word Cetiyagiri in Pāli (Sanskrit-*Caityagiri*) literally means a hill with a *Caitya* or a relic mound. And in the light of this linguistic explanation too the hill of Sāñcī appears to be the lone spot in the vicinity of Vidiśā where the *Stūpas* contain the relics of great saints.

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2. Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. 1, p. 14; Bajpai, K. D., Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, 2nd ed. Intro., p. vi.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

4. Maisey, F.C., *Sanchi and Its Remains*, London, 1892, p. 95.

One thing is to be noted here that Cetiyagiri is a general term. It has also been given to a hill in Śrī Laṅkā. When the relics of the Buddha were kept on the Miśraka Parvata in Śrī Laṅkā it was renamed Caitya Parvata.[5] Therefore Cetiyagiri should not be taken as a name of the place. It only refers to the famous *Caitya* there.

Kākanāda

The words *Kākaṇāya, Kākaṇāva* and *Kākanāda* are one and the same. The Sanskrit word is Kākanāda which has been mentioned in two Gupta inscriptions dated G.E. 93 and 131.[6] Fleet has taken the word *Kākanāda* to mean 'the noise of the crow'.[7] But actually the meaning of the name is not clear. It may denote the inhabitation of crows on the hill or the recitation of prayers in chorus by the monks and nuns as elsewhere the recitation of hymns by the Brāhmaṇas has been termed as the noise of frogs (*dādura dhuni*).[8]

Kākaṇāya and Kākaṇāva

Kākaṇāya and *Kākaṇāva* are the Prakrit renderings of the Sanskrit word *Kākanāda.* Here the consonant *'d'* has been dropped and the word remains *'Kākanā a'.*[9] Since the double vowel *'āa'* is not easy to pronounce, the last vo-

5. *Mahāvaṃsa,* XVII.22-23 (tr. by B. A. Kausalyayana, p. 86).

6. Majumdar, N.G., *Monuments of Sanchi,* Vol. 1, Insc. Nos. 833 and 834, p. 388.

7. *C.I.I.,* Vol. 3, p. 31.

8. Tulasīdāsa, *Rāmacaritamānasa,* IV.15.

9. *Prākṛta-prakāśa,* II.2 vide Acharya Narendra Nath, *Prākṛta Bhāṣāô kā Rūpa-darśana,* Lucknow, 1973, p. 78.

wel is converted into *'ya'* or *'va'*, and the nasal *'na'* is converted into *'ṇa'*. Thus the Sanskrit word *Kākanāda* becomes *Kākaṇāya* or *Kākaṇāva* in Prakrit (*Kākanāda*>*Kākanāa*>*Kākaṇāa*>*Kākaṇāya* or *Kākaṇāva*). For example, the Sanskrit word *'gata'* becomes 'gayā' or 'gavā' (*gata*>*gaa*>*gaya* or *gava*>*gayā* or *gavā*).

Kākaṇāya and *Kākaṇāva* occur in inscriptions generally recording the gifts of donors who were Buddhists speaking their own dialect i. e., Prakrit. Since these inscriptions pertain to the Śuṅga period[10] they are earlier to those in Sanskrit of the Gupta period. This has misled to Marshall in ascertaining the earlier name of Sāñcī as *Kākaṇāya* or *Kākaṇāva* and the later as *Kākanāda*.[11]

Kākaṇāya occurs in an inscription on a ground railing cross-bar of the Great Stūpa which reads—*"Kākaṇāye Bhagavato pamāṇa laṭṭhi"*, 'the (height) measuring staff of the Bhagavat i. e. Buddha at Kākaṇāya'.[12] This measuring rod (*pramāṇa yaṣṭi*) has been identified by Foucher with a motif carved out on the whole space of a pillar of the Northern Gateway.[13] Hence the identification of *Kākaṇāya* with the Great Stūpa is quite clear.

Other inscriptions mentioning *Kākaṇāva* certainly refer to the Great Stūpa by this term. An inscription on a pillar of the Eastern Gateway says—"He, who dismantles, or causes to be dismantled, an arch or a rail of this

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10. Majumdar, N.G., *op. cit.*, p. 295.

11. Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 8 ; *Monuments of Sanchi*, p. 12.

12. Majumdar, N.G., *op. cit.*, Insc. No. 17b, p. 301.

13. *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. 2 description of pl. XXXVIIa.

Kākaṇāva, or causes it to be transferred to another church (*Ācāryakula),* (shall incur the sin) of the murderers of mothers, murderers of fathers, murderers of Arhats, of those who create schism in the Community, and of those who cause bloodshed........all such sinners (shall live in dirt)".[14] Similarly another inscription covering both the pillars of the Western Gateway, just below the capitals, also prescribes the punishment of the same five sins for those "who dismantle or cause to be dismantled the stonework from this *Kākaṇāva,* or cause it to be transferred to another Church."[15]

In both these inscriptions 'the arch, rail and the stonework of this *Kākaṇāva*' are quite indicative of it being the name of the Great Stūpa and not the name of Sāñcī as stated by Sir John Marshall.[16]

A third inscription mentioning *Kākaṇāva,* found on a steatite casket (no. II) reads—"*Kākanāva-Pabhāsa-Sihanādāna.*"[17] Its Skt. rendering is '*Kākanādasya Prabhāsasya*

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14. Majumdar, N.G., *op. cit.,* Insc. No. 396, p. 341—
"Yo ito Kākaṇāvāto toraṇa vedikā vā upāḍeyā
upāḍāpeyā vā ānaṁ vā ācāriyakulaṁ saṅkāmeyā so
matighātina piti-ghātina bhe (dina).......te ducita....
nasa pāpā
kārina save ma paṭipae."

15. *Ibid.,* Insc. No. 404, p. 342—
"Yo ito Kākaṇāvāto selakame upāḍeyā [upāḍāpeyā vā
ānaṁ vā ācāriyakulaṁ saṅkāmeyā tase te pātakā bhaveya."

16. *A Guide to Sanchi,* p. 8; *Monuments of Sanchi,* Vol. 1, p. 12.

17. Majumdar, *op. cit.,* Insc, No. 7, p. 295.

śiṣyāṇām dānam.' The word 'Pabhāsa' has different meanings, viz. light, enlightened, name of a person or place, etc. Therefore, the inscription can be translated differently. Majumdar has translated it as 'the gift of the pupils of the Light of Kākanāva.[18] He has taken 'Pabhāsa' to mean 'Light'. But 'Light of Kākanāva' does not convey any clear meaning. Taking this word as an adjective, meaning 'enlightened', the translation may be rendered as 'the gift of the enlightened pupils of Kākanāva'. If we take the word 'Pabhāsa' as name of a person, the inscription may be translated as 'the gift of the pupils of (ācārya) Prabhāsa of Kākanāva'. As a place-name, Prabhāsa (*tīrtha*)—also called Soma (*tīrtha*)—of Saurāṣṭra is well-known. But here that meaning can not be derived. Because Kākanāva was the name of the Great Stūpa or the local place i. e. Sāñcī, and, therefore, 'Prabhāsa (in Saurāṣṭra) of Kākanāva (Sāñcī)' has no meaning. In case we take 'Pabhāsa' to mean an *āśrama* or *maṭha* (a centre of learning), we will have to translate the inscription as 'the gift of the pupils of the *āśrama* or college of Kākanāva'. But we know that in ancient times pupils were known by their teachers and not by their colleges. So, 'the pupils of (*ācārya*) Prabhāsa of Kākanāva' seems to be more probable than 'the pupils of the college of Kākanāva'. It is confirmed when we take another inscription No. 396, already mentioned, wherein a punishment of five sins has been prescribed for one who dismantles, or causes to be dismantled, an arch or a rail of the Kākanāva, or causes it to be transferred to another *ācārya-kula* or church. It clearly indicates that Sāñcī itself had an *ācārya-kula* whose one of the *ācāryas* might have been a

18. *Ibid.*

person named Prabhāsa.[19] This conclusion is confirmed by another inscription found on a relic-casket from the Stūpa No. 2 at the Andher hill quite near to Sāñcī. The inscription reads—

"*Supurisasa Gotiputasa Kākanāva Pabhāsanasa Koḍinyegotasa*"[20] i. e. (the relics) of the gentleman Prabhāsana the son of Goti of Koḍinya *gotra* (and the resident of) Kākanāda."

Another word 'Sihanā' from Skt. 'śiṣyāṇām' may be explained as *Śiṣyāṇām >sikkhānām >sikhanām>sihanāṁ>sihanā.*[21]

The inscriptions dated G.E. 93 and 131, both on the cross-bars of the ground railing of the Great Stūpa, refer to the Great Monastery (*Śrī mahāvihāra*) at *Kākanāda*.[22] Here the name *Kākaṇāya* or *Kākaṇāva* of the inscriptions of the Śuṅga period becomes *Kākanāda* in Sanskrit, which is quite clear. Any way, during the period nearly from the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. to the middle

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19. For this suggestion I am very much thankful to Dr. H. D. Bahri.

20. Cunningham, *Bhils Topes*, p. 224.

21. I am greatly indebted to Dr. H. D. Bahri, Allahabad University and late Prof. Śyāmanārāyaṇa, the Head of Sanskrit Deptt., C. M. P. Degree College, Allahabad for explaining the words 'Prabhāsa' and 'Sihanā' respectively.

22. *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. 1, Insc. Nos. 833 and 834, p. 388—"*Siddhaṁ Kākanāda boṭa śrīmahāvihāre.......*" and "*Siddhaṁ upāsaka sanasiddha bhāryyāyā upāsikā Harisvāminyā mātā pitraṁ uddiśya Kākanāda boṭa śrīmahāvihāre.*"

of the 5th century A.D. the Great Stūpa was well-known by the name *Kākanāda*.

Boṭa-Śrī-Parvvata and Boṭa-Śrī-Mahāvihāra

In another inscription which belongs to the end of the 7th century A.D. the hill has been referred to by the name *Boṭa-Śrī-parvvata*.[23] Here the term *Kākanāda* is totally absent. The honourific term 'Śrī' has been attached to the hill (*Śrī-Parvvata*) which was previously attached to the monastery (*Śrī-mahāvihāra*). But the word *boṭa*, which previously preceded *Śrī-mahāvihāra*, here precedes *Śrī-parvvata*. Since these inscriptions referring to *Śrī-mahāvihāra* and *Śrī-parvvata* have been inscribed on the Great Stūpa, their identification with the monastery and the hill of the Great Stūpa itself i. e. Sāñcī cannot be ruled out.

But what meaning is to be allotted to the word '*boṭa*' in all these inscriptions is not quite certain. Fleet has taken it as another form of '*poṭa*' which means 'the foundation of a house'.[24] But this meaning does not serve any purpose. The term '*boṭa*' (Prakrit *boḍa*) is an adjective having its different meanings—'religious' (*dhārmika* or *dharmiṣṭha*) and 'shaven head' (*muṇḍita mastaka*).[25] It is still in use in

23. *Ibid.*, Insc. No. 842, p. 395-96—
"*.....yāvad boṭa śrī parvvate yaṁ....ñcana Tuṅgasya satka eṣa vihāraḥ.*"

Here the information is supplied that the monastery belonged to a person named Tunga and that the benefaction recorded took place at Boṭa-Śrī-parvata.

24. *C. I. I.*, Vol. 3, p. 31.

25. *Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo* (Skt. Prākṛta-Śabda-Mahārṇava i. e. The Ocean of Vernacular Words), ed. Pt. Hargovind Das Trikam Chand Seth, p. 790.

Gujarati. A monk with shaven head is called *'boḍo'*.[26] Both these meanings are quite suitable when the word is attached either to *Śrī-mahāvihāra* or *Śrī-parvvata*.[27]

Scholars have taken this word *boṭa* for a suffix of the ancient name *Kākanāda*,[28] but this too does not elucidate the point. To me, it appears that since in the inscription of the 7th century A.D. the word *'boṭa'* comes as a prefix to *Śrī-parvvata* it should therefore also be taken as prefix to *Śrī-mahāvihāra* in the inscriptions of the Gupta period already mentioned above and not as a suffix to *Kākanāda* i. e. *Boṭa-Śrī-mahāvihāra* and *Boṭa-Śrī-parvvata*. And it is quite befitting with the above meanings. Then the word *Kākanāda-boṭa-śrīmahāvihāra* will mean 'the great monastery of the monks of Kākanāda' (*Kākanādasya boḍānāṁ śrīmahāvihāra*) and similarly the word *Boṭa-Śrī-parvvata* will mean 'the great hill of the monks' (*Boḍānām Śrīparvata*).

Sāñcī

When and how the place came to be known by its modern name Sāñcī is quite obscure. According to Cunningham, Sāñcī is a derivation of the word *Śānti*.[29] He refers to the Aśoka's Pillar Edict, found at Sāñcī, in which the Buddhist church of the place has been described as

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26. *Ibid.*

27. Cf. the word *wat* which is still used in Thailand for a temple or monastery vide 'Buddhist Names and Terms', *Hindustan Times*, Buddha Jayanti Number, 24 May, 1956, p. 58.

28. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. 3, p. 31 ; Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 8 ; *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. 1, p. 12.

29. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, second ed., pp. 116-18.

Śānti Saṅgha.[30] But how the word *Śānti* came to be converted into the vernacular word *Sāñcī* is still open to question. That the Chinese transcript of the word *Śānti* into *Śā-Cī* was responsible for the origin of the present name of Sāñcī, as suggested by Cunningham,[31] can in no way be accepted.[32] The Chinese form *Śā-cī* for the Indian word *Śānti* could have been popular among the Chinese speaking peoples. But how was it popularised among the Indian masses having their own dialect and particularly when the place has been totally by-passed by the Chinese travellers?[33] Sāñcī or Sācī according to Fleet, is probably a vernacular name connected in noway with the Sanskrit, as *Kācī-Kānākheḍā* (quite similar to *Sāñcī-Kānākheḍā*) and *Māñcī* are similar names of the other villages in the neighbourhood of Sāñcī.[34]

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30. *Ibid.*, p. 116. But the reading by N. G. Majumdar is *kiṁti* in place of *śānti*. See *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, p. 287, Insc. No. 1.

31. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

32. Travelling from Kānyakubja to Śrāvastī Fa-hien came to the great kingdom of 'Sha-che' (Legge, James, *The Travels of* Fa-hien, p. 54). According to James Legge, 'Sha-che' should probably be 'Sha-khe' making Cunningham's identification of the name with the present Sāketa still more likely (*Ibid.*, footnote 4). 'Sha-che', in this context, can in no way be identified with the present Sāñcī in M.P. which does not come between Kānyakubja and Śrāvastī, both in U.P. And only therefore, Marshall describes the identification of Sāñcī with 'Sha-che' of Fa-hien as false (*A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 148).

33. Both Fa-hien and Hiuen-tsang have in their travel-accounts not even a single word to say about Sāñcī. See Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 2.

34. *C. I. I.*, Vol. 3, p. 29.

The modern name Sāñcī appears to have been derived either from the word *'Sañcita'* i. e. collected (*Sañcita>Sañcia>Sañcī>Sāñcī*) or *'Satya'* i. e. truth (*Satya>Sacca>Saccī>Sāñcī*).[35] Since the pious relics of the Buddha and other saints were collected and kept there the place might have been called *'Sañcita-sthāna'* (the place where something is collected) which with the passage of time might have first remained only *'Sañcita'* and subsequently converted into the modern term Sāñcī as shown above.

It may be taken as possible that in the time of Aśoka the Buddhist church at the hill was known by the name of the locality as *Sañcita-Sthāna* or *Satya-Sthāna*. But, subsequently from the time of the Śuṅgas the Stūpa itself was given its own name as *Kākanāda*, which was quite different from the name of the place, and since then onwards the Stūpa and not the place was referred to in the inscriptions by its own name i. e. *Kākanāda*. We may presume that when the site of the Great Stūpa was left desolate and deserted its name also lost in oblivion. But the name of the locality *Sañcita-Sthāna* was there, and when after 600 or 700 years the site was again discovered it was renamed by its locality, which, by that time, had already adopted the modern nomenclature. It means, the present form of the name i. e. Sāñcī must have taken its origin sometimes between the 13th and 19th centuries A.D.

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35. In local dialect the word *sāñcī*, to mean truth, is spoken in place of *satya* or *sahī*.

NAMES OF [illegible]

The ancient name [illegible] appears to have been derived either from [illegible] [illegible] is called [illegible] [illegible] Since the [illegible] were collected and kept there, the [illegible] them [illegible] collected [illegible] [illegible] the ancient name [illegible] above.

It may be taken as possible that [illegible] the Buddhist church at the [illegible] the locality as [illegible] gradually from the time of the [illegible] given its own name as [illegible] [illegible] was then the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] But [illegible] [illegible] modern [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 1906 and 1924 [illegible]

[illegible]

ŚRĪ KARUṆA ŚAṄKAR PRABHUJĪ PĀṬHAKA AND HIS WORK ŚRĪ KṚṢṆAKUMĀRĀBHYUDAYAM

K. D. Dave

Vallabh Vidyanagar

The author hearby brings to light an unknown Sanskrit play *Śrīkṛṣṇakumārābhyudayam*—written on the occasion of the birth of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kumāra Sinha, the eldest son of Mahārāja Śri Bhāva Sinha (ruler of Bhāvanagar)—and thereby introduces to the Sanskrit world hitherto little known Sanskrit scholar Śrī Karuṇa Śaṅkara Prabhujī Pāṭhaka.

This is an attempt to introduce a comparatively less known *Paṇḍit* who flourished in Saurashtra (which is a part of Gujarat) in the beginning of this century. His name is Śrī Karuṇa Śaṅkara Prabhujī Pāṭhaka. When he wrote this drama, he held the Office of the Principal of "Juvan Sinhaji Sanskrit Pathashala" in the city of Bhavnagar in Saurashtra. Bhavnagar was at that time a native State and His Highness Maharaja Sir Bhavasinhaji (spelt as Bhow Singji also) K. C. S. I., was its ruler. He was a Kṣatriya of the famous Gohel dynasty and was a great patron of learning and learned people which becomes amply evident from the fact that an institution of Sanskrit named "Juvan Sinhaji Sanskrit Pathashala" was being maintained and conducted in a quite elaborate manner which gave credit to the able administration of His Highness. The Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā was established to commemorate the sacred name of Prince Juvansinhaji whose death occurred in young age.

As the play was composed in a very short time, the author was apparently not in a position to observe the rules and traditions of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* and so he supplemented the title by the term *Chāyā Nāṭakam*. The play was written on the occasion of the birth of the eldest Prince Shri Krishna Kumar Sinhaji. The name of the Queen-mother was Maharani Shri Nanda Kunvarbā. The royal couple had reached middle age and so naturally the people of the state, especially those near to the palace were anxious and impatiently awaiting the birth of the Yuvarāja. The Yuvarāja was born on the 3rd day of the first half of Jyeṣṭha in the year 1968 (Vikrama Saṃvat) the corresponding English date being the 7th of June, 1913 (Saturday).[1]

The drama is divided in four acts. It begins with *Vandanā* which has three verses in Anuṣṭup metre[2] and then is the *Maṅgala Gītam*. (the benedictory stanza).[3] The main characteristic of this drama is that the author has composed five songs in Sanskrit in different rāgas. The

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1. श्रीकण्ठः—(··· सानुरागं सर्वेश्वरं प्रणम्य)—अहहा भगवन् कालात्मन् ! समर्थितं मासेषु ज्येष्ठेन त्वयात्मनो ज्यायस्त्वम् । यदद्य वसुरसनन्देन्दु (१९६८) संख्यात वैक्रमाब्दगते त्वयि नन्दकुंवरवामहिषीसौभाग्यकल्पवल्लरीसमाश्लिष्टोऽस्मन्महाराजस्य सुकृतसुरपादपो निःशेषं फलितः। (गंगाधरं प्रति) वयस्य ! धन्येयमद्यतनी विशदा क्रमशस्तृतीयाऽपि विजयासु प्रथमा गौरी-दैवता तिथिः। (p. 43)

2. नामं नामं गुरुं रामं कामं कामं मयेप्सितम् । समालब्धं समालप्स्ये निकाममिति निश्चितम् ॥१॥ अभंगं मंगलं दिश्यान्मंगलायतनं हरिः। विभंगमप्यपायानां सततं रक्षसामिव ॥ २ ॥ हरोत्तमांगे गंगेव साधुसंगे च धीरिव। आस्यरंगेऽभिनेतृणां देवीवाङ्नरिनृत्यताम् ॥३ ॥ (p. 1)

3. मंगलगीतम् । (कल्याणरागेण गीयते।); See the next note.

first *maṅgalagītam* is sung in the famous *Kalyāṇa rāga.*[4] The second song in the first act is composed in Sinha's Kānaḍā,[5] the third one thereafter in the same act can be sung in any one of the Kalyāṇa, Āsāvarī, Mālakosa, Bihāga, and Dhanāśrī.[6] The fourth song is in the second Act and is sung in "Indra Sabhā" rāga.[7] In the 3rd act the Nīrājanā

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4. भालचन्द्र भुवनपाल भूधरात्मजासुपाल। पालयाशु कण्ठपाल व्यालमाल मारिन्॥ ध्रुवपदम्॥ गुणगणप्रवाहजात विश्वजातसंप्रभात। निखिलब्रह्माण्डजात त्रिपुरासुरमारिन्॥ भालचन्द्र०॥ भूतिमसितभासुरांग शीर्षगंग सुन्दरांग। चण्डिका-विभूषितांग भक्ततापहारिन्॥ भालचन्द्र०॥ मन्दमन्दहसितवदन स्कन्दजननधन्य-सदन। प्रणतजनसुसिद्धिजनन विघ्नसंघहारिन्॥ भालचन्द्र०॥ नटवर ममकार्यसिद्धि-मद्यभवत्सात् सुविद्धि। प्रतिपलं प्रसादसिद्धिरस्तु निर्विकारिन् ॥भालचन्द्र०॥ (p. 3)

5. (सिंह [का] कानड़ा इति रागेण गीयते)
आनन्दन्ति युगानि वसन्ते। नैकविधं विधुरैः सुदुरन्ते॥ ध्रुवपदम्॥
मंजुल मंजुल मुदितानन्दम्। गुंजति मधुकरवृन्दं मन्दम्॥ आनन्दन्ति॥१॥
प्रेयः संगान्मुदिता सेयम्। कलकण्ठी द्रागंचति गेयम्॥आन०॥२॥
चाषः कान्ताश्लिष्टो हर्षात्। मुक्तो वर्षाभावे तर्षात्॥आन०॥३॥
हंसी हंसाश्लेषसुतुष्टा। मुञ्चति मौक्तिक चारमरुष्टा॥आन०॥४॥
वल्ली ताम्बूलीसम्पर्कात्। भात्यधिकं क्रमुके निजवर्गात्॥आन०॥५॥
आम्राः कृतफलपुष्पाहृतयः। सत्कर्तुं सुहृदं कृततनयः॥आन०॥६॥
(p. 16)

6. (कल्याणा-शावरी-मालकोष-विहाग-धन्याश्रीत्यादिरागैः)
जय गंगाधर गिरिजावर हर, हर सन्तापनिदानम्।
त्रिपुरासुरमदमर्द्दन शम्भो, मार्कण्डावनबन्धो।
मदनान्तक मयि मतिमतिधीशं, धेहि दयारससिन्धो॥जय०॥१॥
विधिरूपः सृजसीदमपि त्वं पालयसे हरिरूपः।
क्रीडन् संहरसे पुनरात्मनि, स्वीकृतचित्रस्वरूपः॥जय०॥२॥ (p. 17)

7. (इन्द्रसभारागेण गीयते)
के० सि० एस० आइ० सर्वसम्मतं पदं, धारयन् विदूरयन् द्विषां च दुर्म्मदम्।
भाव भूपते जयप्रभावपोषदम्। ध्रुव०।
जय त्वया प्रवर्तिता जलप्रणालिका। नालिका मुखेन गेहगेहमुच्चका।
भूपवन्द्य कीर्तिरुद्यतां तवाद्य का। के० सि०।

(Āratī) is in the current Āratī system, prevalent all over the country.[8] In the 4th act, there is a *Prārthanā* which can be sung in Savaiyā or any similar convenient tune.[9]

धूमशकटवर्त्मना च सर्वतोदिशम्। सन्ततिः प्रवर्तिताऽध्वगामिना सुशम्।
स्वाम्यमात्मनीनमत्र वर्ततेऽनिशम्। के० सि०।
जनहितार्थमेव लोकसम्पदां चिरम्। वृद्धिरस्तु सन्ततं कुसीदमन्दिरम्।
निर्मितं तदुद्भवार्थमेति सत्वरम्। के० सि०।
विक्रये जनानुकूल्यहेतवे त्वया। पुण्यसंग्रहे बलिर्मृदुमहाशय ॥३॥
कल्पितस्ततोऽधिका तु का भवेद्दया। के० सि०।
एवमेव भावभूय भावतः प्रजाम्। भावयाशु भीमभाव दुर्जनार्द्दिताम्।
वैरिसङ्घसंकटाय कीर्त्तिरर्ज्यताम् ॥के० सि०। (p. 36)

8. जय देवि जय देवि जय दुर्गे भुवने। त्वदितरदखिलं दैवतमनलं जगदवने। जन्मनि जन्मनि हित्वा, तव पदवरिवस्याम् (२) भुक्तो वारं वारं (२) विषरूपो विषयः ॥ जय ॥० कलत्रसुतयोरर्थे वय एतत् क्षपितम् (२) सम्प्रति को वा सबलो (२) मम भूयादवने ॥ जय० ॥ को वा त्वन्महिमानं कलयितुमधिपःस्यात् (२) यो वै वेदादीनां (२) मनसो विषयो नो ॥जय० ॥ तस्मात्केवलमम्ब त्रिपुरे भुवनेशी (२)—त्येतन्नाम प्रकटं (२) निवसेन्ममवदने ॥जय०॥ कति न त्राताः सुभगे भवकण्टकभूताः (२) तन्मध्यस्थःपापः (२) कथमहमवशिष्टः ॥जय० ॥ धर्तुर्हिमगिरिकूटान्, अणुवन्निजमौलौ (२) भारः किमयं भवितो–(२)–द्धरणे परमाणौ ॥ जय० ॥ अरुणांशुकपरिधानं वपुरेतद्विमलं (२) मल्लीजातिजमाला (२) 'मालितमृदुकरलम् ॥ जय० ॥ मधुमदमञ्जुलहासं तरुणारुणवदनम् (२) दृष्ट्या मुह्यति चेतो (२) मम सखि भुवनेशि ॥ जय० ॥ पाशांकुशवरमुद्रा,ऽभयमुद्राखचितम् (२) ललितं भूषणवर्यै (२) र्मणिवरविनिषद्धैः ॥ जय० ॥ उद्यद्दिनकरशोभं कमलाकृतिसुभगम् (२) सुन्दररूपमिदं ते (२) ममभूयाद्धृदये ॥ जय० ॥ (p. 45)

9. हे भगवति पाहि भवानि जय भगवति पाहि भवानि। शरणं नस्त्वं शरणगतानामम्ब त्वां न जहामि ॥ हे भगवति०॥ गोहिलवंशविभूत्यै देवि द्विषतां गेहवनानि। छिन्द्याच्छूरविशेष सद्यः क्षात्रशिशुर्दुरितानि ॥ हे भगवति०॥ त्वां संश्रित्य सुरासुरनागाः प्राप्ता विविधपदानि। गोहिलकुलतनयोऽयं देवि किं नाप्नोतु हितानि ॥ हे भगवति० ॥ कल्याणि त्वां भूयो भूयो नत्वा विश्वहितानि। कर्तुं धात्रि दयारससिन्धो बहु किं चानुनयानि। हे भगवति० ॥ देवि चराचरमेतत्सर्वं व्याप्याधिकमहिमानि। कुरुषे क्रीडानिरते वैष्णवि भक्तजनाभिमतानि ॥ हे भगवति० ॥

The subject matter of the first act :

Lakṣhmī Dhara the Nagara Śreṣṭhī (the President of the guild) had sent his peon Dharmapāla to ask the famous Paṇḍit Sadānanda to come to his place. But as Paṇḍit Sadānanda sent the message that he would not be able to come as he had an appointment with his another friend Mukunda Śāstrī, Lakṣmī Dhara goes to his shop. In the second scene, Paṇḍit Sadānanda is seen in his house. He is pondering over the Jaiminīya sūtra— अस्य दृश्यजातस्याविर्भावतिरोभावयोः कर्मैव निदानमिति जैमिनीयमताक्षेपपरे and the opinion of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya on it. The second scene is the residence of Mukunda Śāstrī where Sadānanda and Mukunda are sitting, discussing the charms of Sanskrit poetry and then another friend Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī comes there with the glad tidings of the birth of the Yuvarāja and the commencement of the celebrations in the city. All the three Paṇḍits start to convey the good news to their common friend Śrī Kauśa Paṇḍit. The first act ends here. The time of Pāṭhaśālā is over, Gaṅgādhara Paṇḍit has retired to his bed room where he falls asleep. His pupil Cintāmaṇi, a young boy gives this information and talks about his study of the Paribhāṣā of 'नाजानान्तर्यें' and then a dream occurs to Paṇḍit Gaṅgādhara in his sleep in which he is heard composing verses which consist of blessings[10] to the newly born Yuvarāja and then when he gets up from the sleep, a discussion

10. नैक्षीदृङ नृपतिः पितेव समदृङ् नैजप्रजापालने
(क्षणं विरम्य) नोद्योगान् प्रविभावयन्नहरहः मन्त्री च राज्यर्द्धये।
(अपनीतवदनावरणवसनो निद्रावशंवद क्षणं विरम्य पुनरुत्स्वप्नायते)
तत्तादृग् द्विसमागमं सुघटयन्नीशोऽभिवन्द्यो जनै-
र्नम्रस्वान्तमुदारतां कलयतां ताविष्टसम्पूर्त्तये॥
भूपालवृन्दानतपादपद्मः सद्मप्रताप प्रणयान्वयस्यः।
सम्पद्यतां नीरधिधीरधैर्यः शौण्डीर्यशाली सुभगः कुमारः॥ (p. 24)

takes place, the subject naturally being the poetry of Gaṅgādhara which he composed in the dream.[11] And then the learned friends compose poetry on the spot[12] which is full of praises for the King Bhavasinhaji while describing the reforms introduced by His Highness and also his generosity and his efforts for the welfare of his subjects. Here ends the second act.

In the 3rd act, the element of humour (*hāsya* rasa) can be seen, the scene being the temple of the goddess who is the family deity of the ruler. The Brahmacārī Śivānanda is in the charge of the temple and he is seen talking with his disciples. Then a citizen comes and expresses his desire to give dinner to one thousand Brahmins to celebrate the festival of the birth of yuvarāja. Śivānandaji makes arrangements for the grand feast. The chief item of the menu being *lapsikā* (resembling *kaṃsāra*) and here humour is created while depicting the greed of the illiterate Brahmins whose petty disputes and verbal scuffles are depicted in witty dialogues.[12] In the fourth act, again the Paṇḍits assemble and the pupils recite the verses which consist

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11. सदानन्दः—सखे स्मरामि किलास्यौत्सुक्यव्याहाराणाम्। यतस्ते स्वाप्ना अपि कवित्वप्रयुक्ताः प्रदर्शितस्वाश्रयभक्तिवात्सल्यनैर्मल्यातिशयाश्च। (p. 27)

12. जीयान्नन्दकुमारिका चिरतरं संख्यावतीमण्डली-
मूर्द्धन्याऽऽजलराशि भूपमुकुटैर्नीराजनीयाङ्घ्रिकम्।
पुत्रं सञ्जनयित्रिका कुलधरं सी० आइ० शास्तिम्भरा
गोहीलान्वयदीपनैः समधिकैः क्षात्रैर्गुणैराश्रिता॥ (p. 39)

13. अम्बिकादत्तः—×××× "भोः प्रियौदन ! अद्य तावद्यथाकामोपलब्धेनापि सर्पिषा कस्ते लाभातिशयः। नहि लप्सिकेव भक्तान्नं सर्पिर्गृह्णाति ततो वयमद्य जिता" इति पार्श्वस्थमुपहसन् स्वपुरतोऽभिपतितं हिमगिरेः कूटमिव सर्पिषा घनीभूतं लप्सिका-कूटमेव मुहुर्मुहुः सम्भावयन् सुतसम्बाधावृत्तान्तं श्रुतिद्वारमपि नावेशयति। (p. 53)

of poetic elements[14] and a learned discourse (*śāstrārtha*) takes place between the teachers and the taught where authorities of *Sāhitya Darpaṇa, Kuvalayānanda* and *Pāṇinīya Vyākaraṇa*[15] are quoted and here also some humour is created in the 'war of words' of the pupils and the teachers. Appreciable scholarship is exhibited in some prose passages[16] wherein some interesting sports in royal gardens as parts of the festivities on the occasion of the birth of Yuvarāja are depicted in a vivid and enchanting manner. The play ends with the traditional *Bharata Vākya* which is recited by all the Paṇḍits in a Chorus.[17]

A Gujarati translation is also printed along with the Sanskrit text. The names of the translators are (1) Bhatta

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14. जातमात्रे कुमारेऽस्मिन् वीरसूकीर्तिवल्लरी।
तवाद्य भुवनान्व्याप्य कल्पवल्लीं वितर्द्दति ।। (p. 63)
लुठन्नुत्संगतल्पे त्वां सन्नं सन्नं वचो वदन्।
अलक्ष्यहासममलं विदधन्मोदयत्वयम् ।। (p. 65)

15. चिन्तामणिः—श्रूयतां तावद्यदाह कविर्विश्वनाथः "स्वभावोक्तिर्दुरूहार्थस्वक्रियारूपवर्णनम्" इति । ××× एवं कुवलयानन्देऽप्यप्पयदीक्षितः—'स्वभावोक्तिः स्वभावस्य जात्यादिस्थस्य वर्णनम्' इति। (p. 69)
सदानन्दः—'अलक्ष्यहासममलं विदधन् मोदयत्वयम्' इत्यत्र न हि नुमो नकारः श्रूयते अपितु तकारस्थानापन्नः परसवर्णः स्वभावोक्तिश्चित्रालंकार इति सूचितं भवति। (p. 67)

16. ततश्च पश्चादागतेन मल्लूकेन पुरश्छत्रोटं गृहीत्वा बलादाकृष्यमाणो रुषा तं जिघृक्षुश्चक्रभ्रामं परिभ्रमन्नपि नरवरविदीर्ण सर्वांगः कुण्डलीकृतशुण्डादण्डः क्रूरं क्रन्दन् ग्रहीतुं नापारयत्। (इत्यादिग्रन्थः p. 78, 79, 80)

17. माधुर्यशौण्डीर्यविशेषभाञ्जि, वचांसि युञ्जन् पुरतो जनानाम्।
अभ्यर्हितानां मुहुराशिषां द्राक् पात्रीभवन् वर्षशतं स जीव्यात् ।। (p. 85)
इत्येवं शैशवेऽपि समगुणविभवैरर्भकैः क्षत्रियाणां
पूर्णां लीलाविलासाननुभवविषयान् संविधायैव सद्यः।
पूर्णां पित्रा वितीर्णां तरुणिमसुभगः कान्तया राजलक्ष्मी-
मन्योदासीनशीलां भजतु कृतधियो मोदयन् देवि धीरः ।। (p. 86)

Mohanlal Kevalram and Acharya Champaklal Narmadashanker and the whole work has been further checked and final touches given to it by Shri Chhaganlal Tribhuvan Dvivedi who was a teacher in the high school at that time.[18] The book has been printed by Setha Bhikhabhai Gopalji in Sarasvati Mudranalaya of Bhavnagar in the V.S. 1969,[19] (Christian year 1913). The book has been dedicated (in Gujarati language) by the author to His Highness Maharaja Sir Bhavasinhaji Bahadur K.C.S.I. A Sanskrit preface written by the author on the Prauṣṭhapadī Pūrṇimā day of V.S. 1969[20] contains the circumstances (as narrated before) in which the author wrote the play. A *sammati patram,* written in seven Sanskrit verses in different metres by Śīghra Kavi Shankarlal Maheshwar Shastri,[21] (the then

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18. तच्च भट्टश्रीकेवलरामात्मजेन मोहनलाल शर्मणा, आचार्य श्री नर्मदाशंकरसुतचम्पकलालशास्त्रिणा च गुर्जरभाषयाऽनुवादितम्। एतत्पुनः आंग्ल-विद्यालयाध्यापकेन त्रिभुवनसूनुच्छगनलालेन द्विवेदिना संशोधितम्।

19. भावनगरे श्री सरस्वती मुद्रणालये भीखाभाई गोपालजी श्रेष्ठिना मुद्रितम्। शाके १८३६, विक्रमाब्दा १९६९, सन १९१३, मूल्यमेकोरुप्यकः।

20. ××× अत्र च मानुषभावसुलभं कुत्रचित्स्खलितं चेत्क्षन्तव्यं गुणगृहयालुभिर्विद्वद्भिररिति प्रार्थयते पुरोभागिनिरपेक्षतया पाठकावटंकः प्रभुजित्तनयः करुणाशंकरः। समलेखीदमंकरसनन्देन्दुपरिमितविक्रमाब्दीयायां प्रौष्ठपद्याम्। ले० शास्त्री करुणाशंकर प्रभुजित् पाठकः, जुवानसिंहजित्संस्कृतपाठशालाप्रधानाध्यापकः। भावनगरे। (p. 2)

21. श्रीमयूरध्वज (पुरी) (मोरवी) राजकीयपाठशालाप्रधानाध्यापकैः शीघ्रकविश्रीशंकरलालशास्त्रिभिर्वितीर्णं सम्मतिपत्रम्।

"श्रीराजराजेश्वरी जयति। संवत् १९६८ प्र-आषाढशुक्लषष्ठ्यां गुरौ
प्रभुजितनुजनुष्षु शास्त्रवित्सु प्रतिदिवसं करुणादिशंकरेषु।
नतितति कुसुमस्रजो लसन्तु प्रणयिषु शंकरलालशर्मणो मे ॥१॥
कुशलमिहमहेश्वरप्रसादात् कलयतु वः कुशलं स एव देवः।
यदनुपमदयार्द्रदृष्टिवृष्टी रचयतु विश्वमिदं प्रमोदमग्नम् ॥२॥

Principal of the Morvi State Sanskrit Pathashala) and a *sammati patram* in Sanskrit prose and verses written by Shukla Girijashankar Harishanker, as well as high opinions regarding the play in Gujarati language by the famous Gujarati Poet Shri Manishankar Ratnaji Bhatt Kavi Kānta and Prof. J. J. Kania (the then Professor of Sanskrit, Shamaldas College, Bhavnagar) have also been printed with a *Śudhhi Patraka* of some thirtyone misprints. The Sanskrit-text (including the Gujarati translation) is printed in 86 pages.

I have uptil now seen only one edition as described above. I got this edition from the rare collection of the library of Śaṅkarāśrama of Morvi. On the very first blank page (in the binding), in the author's own handwriting, with his signature, it has been mentioned in Sanskrit that the author sent this book as a token of friendship to Shastri Shankarlal Maheshwar on 4-12-1913.

औदार्यशौर्यकरुणादिगुणैकसिन्धुः श्री भावपत्तनपुरन्दर ईड्यकीर्तिः। श्रीशंकरार्पितजयाभ्युदयाचलश्रीः। श्री भावसिंह इति भूरमणैकरत्नम् ।।३ ।। वर्वर्ति तस्य महिषी सुगुणैकशाला वस्वंगनन्दवसुधा (१९६८) मितवत्सरस्थे। ज्येष्ठे शनौ [६] गुणमिते च तिथौ वलक्षे पक्षे निजान्वयमणिं सुषुवे कुमारम् ।४ ।। श्रीमद्भावपुरीपुरन्दरमहाराजाधिराजप्रभोः पुत्रोत्पत्तिमहोत्सवैकविषयं काव्यं भवद्भिः कृतम्। तत्सर्वं समयेक्षितं परमया प्रीत्या मया शास्त्रिणः सन्तोषाम्बुनिधौ निमग्नमभवच्चेतश्च यद्वीक्ष्य मे ।।५ ।।××× इति शंकरलालस्य श्रीमहेशतनूजनेः। प्रतिश्रीपार्वतीप्राणपतिं मे परमार्थना ।।७ ।।

(p. 3&4)

प्राचीन भारतीय प्रशासन में स्त्रियों की भूमिका

सुशील कुमार सुल्लेरे–श्रीमती सुशील सुल्लेरे
रायपुर

Important contribution of women in the field of administration is evident from ancient Indian literature. Women were trained in Military science and administration along with *Vijñāna, darśana* and *lalita kalās.* Queens played an important role in helping their king–husbands in administration. They also proved themselves as good rulers while governing the kingdoms as patrons of their minor children. There are evidences that women worked as spies and escortesses ; fought in battlefields and ably performed their duties as a wife, as a mother and as a supervisor.

प्राचीन भारतीय प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था में यद्यपि पुरुषों की प्रधानता थी, लेकिन इस क्षेत्र में स्त्रियों का योगदान कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। प्राचीन साहित्य के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि प्राचीन भारत में नारियों को ज्ञान-विज्ञान, दर्शन एवं ललित-कलाओं के साथ ही साथ सैनिक एवं प्रशासनिक शिक्षा भी प्रदान की जाती थी। ऋग्वेद में नववधू के श्वसुर गृह में प्रवेश करने पर सम्राज्ञी अथवा प्रशासिका होने की कामना की गई है।[1] ऋग्वेद में स्त्री को 'सभावती' कहा गया है। अथर्ववेद में सभा और समिति को प्रजापति की जुड़वां दुहिता की संज्ञा दी गई है।[2] इस प्रकार से सभा में जो कि तत्कालीन युग की महत्वपूर्ण राजनीतिक संस्था थी, स्त्रियों का भाग लेना इस तथ्य का द्योतन करता है कि उस युग में स्त्रियाँ राजनीति में सक्रिय रूप से भाग लेती थीं। ऋग्वेदिक साक्ष्य में एक स्थान पर वधू के लिये यह शुभ कामना की गई है कि वह सभा में आत्मविश्वास के साथ बोले।[3] अथर्ववेद में अलंकृता नारी के सभा में जाने का उल्लेख मिलता है।[4]

उत्तर वैदिक काल में राजा की सहायता के लिये एक राजपरिषद् का विकास हो चुका था। इसका स्वरूप परवर्ती काल के मंत्रियों तथा प्रशासकीय अधिकारियों के

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१. ऋग्वेद, १०.८५.४६
२. अथर्ववेद, ७.१२.१
३. ऋग्वेद, १०.८५.२६
४. अथर्ववेद, २.३६.१

सदृश था। उत्तर वैदिक काल में रत्नियों का उल्लेख मिलता है। प्रशासन के संचालन में इनका महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रत्नी सूची के अंतर्गत आये नामों से स्पष्ट होता है। राजसूय के अवसर पर राजा स्वयं रत्न-हवि के द्वारा रत्नियों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धा प्रकट करता था।[५] **मैत्रायणी संहिता** में रत्नियों को राजशक्ति का अनिवार्य अंग बताया गया है, जिनके तेज से सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र तेजस्वी होता है।[६] **तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण** में रत्नियों को राष्ट्र को प्रदान करने वाला और धारण करने वाला बतलाया गया है।[७] राजसूय के अवसर पर राजा प्रत्येक रत्नी से यह कहता था, कि वह निश्चित रूप से राजा का रत्न है तथा उसी के लिये राजा का अभिषेक होता है। राजसूय के इस कृत्य का उद्देश्य राजा के लिये जनता के इन महत्वपूर्ण व्यक्तियों की स्वामि-भक्ति प्राप्त करना बतलाया गया है।[८] **शतपथ ब्राह्मण** के अतिरिक्त अन्य सभी ग्रन्थों की सूची में महिषी का तृतीय नाम है। महिषी का अर्थ राजा की प्रधान रानी से है। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि वैदिक काल में रानी की स्थिति राजा की पत्नी मात्र ही नहीं थी, वरन् प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था में भी उसका महत्वपूर्ण स्थान था।[१०] काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल महिषी के इस महत्व का कारण राजा के द्वारा धार्मिक अनुष्ठानों के सम्पादन में पत्नी के सहयोग की आवश्यकता को मानते हैं।[११] **शतपथ ब्राह्मण** के अनुसार पत्नी विहीन व्यक्ति यज्ञ-कर्म का अधिकारी नहीं होता था।[१२] ऐसी स्थिति में राजसूय के अवसर पर पत्नी की उपस्थिति निश्चित ही अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण रही होगी। रत्नी-सूची में महिषी की महत्वपूर्ण स्थिति उसके प्रशासनिक दायित्वों की परिचायक है, क्योंकि रत्नी-सूची के सभी सदस्य राजनीतिक एवं प्रशासनिक महत्व के व्यक्ति थे। इस आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि महिषी का उत्तरवैदिक काल में प्रशासनिक एवं धार्मिक महत्व था। वह न केवल शासक की पत्नी होती थी, वरन् प्रशासन में भी राजा के गुरुतर भारवहन में सहायक थी। उत्तर वैदिक काल में महिषी के अतिरिक्त रत्नी-सूची में वावाता और परिवृत्ति का उल्लेख इस तथ्य को प्रमाणित करता है कि उस समय समाज में स्त्रियों को प्रशासकीय अधिकार प्राप्त थे तथा राजनीतिक जीवन में उनकी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका थी।[१३]

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५. **हिन्दू राजतन्त्र,** भाग २, पृ० २६

६. **मैत्रायणी संहिता,** ८.३.४

७. **तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण,** १.७.३.१

८. **शतपथ ब्राह्मण,** ५.३.११.१२

९. **मैत्रायणी संहिता,** ४.३.८

१०. घोषाल—**स्टडीज इन इंडियन हिस्ट्री एण्ड कल्चर,** पृ० ३०६

११. **हिन्दू पालिटी,** पृ० २०१

१२. **शतपथ ब्राह्मण,** ५.१.६.१०

१३. रामशरण शर्मा, **आस्पेक्ट्स ऑफ पोलिटिकल आइडियाज एण्ड इन्स्टीट्यूशन्स इन एन्शिएन्ट इंडिया,** पृ० १०६

महाकाव्यों के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि तत्कालीन राजनीतिक एवं प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था में स्त्रियों का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान था। रामायण से ज्ञात होता है कि दशरथ के उत्तराधिकारी के चयन में कैकेयी की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका थी तथा उसके आग्रह के कारण ही राम को वन जाना पड़ा था तथा भरत को राज्य का उत्तराधिकार प्राप्त हुआ था। **महाभारत** से ज्ञात होता है कि महाभारत-युद्ध में जो शासक मारे गये थे, उनमें जिनके कोई पुत्र नहीं था, उनके राज्य उनकी पुत्रियों को दिये जायें, इस प्रकार का निर्देश भीष्म ने युधिष्ठिर को दिया था। इससे यह अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि प्रशासन में स्त्रियों को महाकाव्य काल में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त था।

यूनानी लेखकों के वृत्तांतों से ज्ञात होता है कि सिकन्दर का मस्सग के साथ जो युद्ध हुआ था, उसमें स्त्रियों ने भी भाग लिया था।[१४] इस युद्ध में सिकन्दर ने नैतिक नियमों का उल्लंघन कर विजय प्राप्त की थी। इस विवरण के आधार पर यह अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि स्त्रियाँ इस समय प्रशासकीय कार्यों के साथ ही साथ युद्धों में भी भाग लेती थीं।[१५] मौर्यकाल में स्त्रियाँ अंगरक्षिका और गुप्तचरों[१६] के रूप में कार्य करती थीं। अशोक के द्वादश शिलालेख में स्त्र्यध्यक्षमहामात्र का उल्लेख है।[१७] सम्भवतः स्त्रियों को ही इस पद पर नियुक्त किया जाता रहा होगा। अशोक की द्वितीय रानी कारुवाकी के अभिलेख[१८] से ज्ञात होता है कि तत्कालीन युग में रानियों को दान देने एवं अभिलेख उत्कीर्ण कराने का अधिकार प्राप्त था। मौर्यकाल में स्त्रियों का विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान था। वे विभिन्न रूपों में प्रशासनिक दायित्वों का निर्वाह करती थीं। हेलियोडोरस के विदिशा अभिलेख में विदिशा के शासक का उल्लेख कासीपुत्र[१९] के रूप में हुआ है। मातृपरक नाम केवल इस काल से नहीं बल्कि वैदिक काल से ही उपलब्ध होते हैं। वेदों में भी कौसिकी पुत्र, कात्सीपुत्र आदि नाम मिलते हैं। पालिग्रन्थों में अजातशत्रु को वैदेहीपुत्र कहा गया है। द्वितीय शताब्दी ईसा पूर्व के भरहुत[२०] के अभिलेख में वशिष्ठी पुत्र वेला मिला का नाम मिलता है। एक अन्य अभिलेख में गोतिपुत्र[२१] का नाम मिलता है। उसके पिता गागीपुत्र

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१४. मैक्रिंडल : **इन्वेज़न ऑफ अलेक्जेण्डर**, पृ० २७०
१५. रायचौधरी : **प्राचीन भारत का राजनीतिक इतिहास**, पृ० २४१
१६. वही पृ० २४५
१७. राजबली पाण्डेय: **हिस्टारिकल एण्ड लिटरेरी इन्सक्रिप्शन्स**, पृ० १५
१८. वही, पृष्ठ ४१
१९. वही, पृष्ठ ४४
२०. वरुआ एण्ड सिन्हा : **भरहुत इन्सक्रिप्शन्स**, पृ० २
२१. वही

(गार्गीपुत्र) तथा उसके पुत्र वात्सीपुत्र का नाम है। पीतलखोरा के गुहा अभिलेखों में एक वाचिपुत्र[22] (वात्सीपुत्र) का नाम मिलता है। इसी प्रकार धनदेव के अयोध्या अभिलेख में कौशिकीपुत्र[23] का नाम मिलता है। इसी समय के अन्य अभिलेखों में भी मातृपरक नाम मिलते हैं।[24] सातवाहनों के मातृपरक नाम समाज में स्त्रियों के सम्मान के परिचायक हैं। इसके साथ ही अभिलेखों में माताओं के नाम का उल्लेख प्रशासकीय महत्व का परिचय भी देता है। वैसे सातवाहन शासकों के द्वारा मातृपरक नाम धारण करने की परम्परा के सम्बन्ध में अनेक अनुमान किये गये हैं।[25] नागनिका के नानाघाट अभिलेख से ज्ञात होता है कि वह सातवाहन शासक सातकर्णि की रानी थी। वह अंगीय वंश की थी। उसने अपने पति की मृत्यु के बाद पुत्रों की अल्पवयस्कता के समय उनकी संरक्षिका के रूप में प्रशासन की बागडोर संभाली थी। सातवाहन काल में नागनिका, गौतमी बलश्री आदि नारियों के उदाहरण इस बात की घोषणा करते हैं कि पतियों के साथ उनकी स्त्रियां भी शासन संचालन करती थीं। इसके लिये उन्हें बाल्य-काल से ही पर्याप्त शिक्षा दी जाती रही हो तो कोई संदेह नहीं। राजकीय कार्यों के अतिरिक्त स्त्रियों को धार्मिक कार्य करने की अनुमति थी। नागनिका ने अपने पति के साथ दो अश्वमेध यज्ञ किये थे।[26] सातवाहन-काल में स्त्रियों का प्रशासनिक क्षेत्र में महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान था। एगाथोक्लिया की कुछ मुद्रायें मिली हैं जिन पर स्ट्रेटो और एगाथोक्लिया दोनों के नाम अंकित हैं। ऐसा अनुमान किया जाता है कि स्ट्रेटो एगाथोक्लिया का पुत्र था। सम्भवतः वह अल्पायु था। इसी कारण से एगाथोक्लिया उसकी संरक्षिका के रूप में उसके नाम पर शासन कर रही थी, यही कारण है कि मुद्राओं पर दोनों के नाम मिलते हैं।[27] एगाथोक्लिया डेमेट्रियस की पुत्री तथा मीनेण्डर की पत्नी थी। उसका प्रशासनिक क्षेत्र में महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव था।

गुप्तकालीन अभिलेखों एवं सिक्कों से ज्ञात होता है कि चन्द्रगुप्त प्रथम की लिच्छवि-वंशीय महादेवी कुमारदेवी प्रथम राजमहिषी हैं जिनका उल्लेख गुप्तकालीन वंश-सूचियों में हुआ है। प्रयाग प्रशस्ति में समुद्रगुप्त को 'लिच्छवि-दौहित्र' कहा गया

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२२. सरकार—सेलेक्ट इन्सक्रिप्शन्स, पृ० ८७

२३. वही, पृ० ९५

२४. वही, पृ० ९०, ९६, ९७ एवं ९८, अर्ली हिस्ट्री ऑफ दि आन्ध्र कन्ट्री, पृ० ४६

२५. देखिए—आन्ध्र-सातवाहन साम्राज्य का इतिहास, पृ० ५३-५६

२६. विमलचन्द्र पाण्डेय—प्राचीन भारत का राजनीतिक एवं सांस्कृतिक इतिहास, पृ० ५३३

२७. विमलचन्द्र पाण्डेय : वही पृ० ५३३

है। इस विरुद का प्रयोग समुद्रगुप्त के लिये परवर्ती गुप्त अभिलेखों में हुआ है।[28] गुप्त-काल की कुछ स्वर्ण मुद्राओं पर एक ओर चन्द्रगुप्त (प्रथम) और कुमार देवी एक दूसरे के सम्मुख खड़े हैं तथा इन पर दोनों का नाम उत्कीर्ण है। इन सिक्कों के पृष्ठभाग पर **'लिच्छवयः'** लेख अंकित है।[29] इस वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध का गुप्त इतिहास में दिशा-निर्देशक महत्व है। काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल का मत है कि गुप्तों ने लिच्छवियों की सहायता से किसी क्षत्रिय शासक से मगध का शासन प्राप्त किया था।[30] एलन के मतानुसार सन्धि की शर्त के अनुसार कुमारदेवी का चन्द्रगुप्त प्रथम के साथ विवाह हुआ था।[31] सोहनी की धारणा है कि चन्द्रगुप्त प्रथम और कुमारदेवी के विवाह का निर्णय रणभूमि में हुआ था।[32] अल्टेकर के अनुसार कुमारदेवी स्वाधिकार से रानी थी।[33] परमेश्वरी लाल गुप्त का मत है कि राजनीतिक गुत्थियों से बचने के लिये यह उचित माना गया होगा कि उनकी लिच्छवी पत्नी का सम्बन्ध शासन से जोड़ दिया जाये तथा शासन लिच्छवियों के नाम पर किया जाये।[34] इस वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध का गुप्तों के उत्कर्ष में जहाँ महत्वपूर्ण स्थान था, वहीं इस बात का भी ज्ञान प्राप्त होता है कि कुमार देवी का प्रशासन पर भी महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव था, यही कारण है कि अभिलेखों एवं सिक्कों में उसका नाम अंकित मिलता है। यह अनुमान असंगत नहीं होगा कि चन्द्रगुप्त प्रथम के उत्तराधिकारी के रूप में समुद्रगुप्त के निर्वाचन में भी कुमारदेवी ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका का निर्वाह किया होगा। गुप्त-अभिलेखों में रानियों के नामों का उल्लेख और सिक्कों पर उनका अंकन निश्चित ही उनके प्रशासन में योगदान का परिचायक है। इस सम्बन्ध में परमेश्वरी लाल गुप्ता का मत है कि इसे मात्र पारिवारिक अथवा दाम्पत्य-जीवन का अंकन नहीं कहा जा सकता है। उसका कुछ न कुछ सार्वजनिक अभिप्राय अवश्य ही रहा होगा।[35] पति के जीवन काल में प्रशासनिक योगदान के साथ ही साथ उसकी मृत्यु के बाद वह अपने अल्प-वयस्क पुत्रों की संरक्षिका के रूप में प्रशासन का संचालन करती थी। पति की मृत्यु के बाद चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय की पुत्री प्रभावती गुप्ता ने अपने अल्पवयस्क पुत्र दिवाकर-

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२८. कार्पस इन्सक्रिप्शनम् इण्डिकारम्, भाग ३, पृ० ८, ४३, ५३, २५६
२९. क्वायनेज ऑफ दि गुप्त इम्पायर, पृ० २७, ३३
३०. जर्नल ऑफ बिहार एण्ड उड़ीसा रिसर्च सोसाइटी, भाग १९, पृ० ११३
३१. ब्रिटिश म्युजियम मुद्रा सूची: गुप्तवंश, भूमिका, पृ० १९
३२. जर्नल ऑफ न्यूमिस्मैटिक सोसाइटी ऑफ इंडिया, भाग ५, पृ० ४१
३३. कैटालॉग ऑफ दि क्वायन्स ऑफ बयाना होर्ड, भूमिका, पृ० ६३
३४. गुप्त-साम्राज्य, पृ० २३८-३९
३५. वही, पृ० ३७५

सेन की संरक्षिका के रूप में शासन की बागडोर अपने हाथों में ग्रहण की।[३६] ह्वेनसांग के विवरण से ज्ञात होता है कि गुप्त सम्राट् बालादित्य ने हूण शासक मिहिरकुल को पराजित किया था, लेकिन अपनी माता के कहने पर उसने मिहिरकुल को छोड़ दिया तथा उसके साथ उदारता का व्यवहार किया।[३७] इस विवरण से ज्ञात होता है कि बालादित्य अपनी माता को अत्यधिक सम्मान देता था और उसकी माता का प्रशासन में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान था। गुप्तों के समकालीन उच्चकल्प के शासकों के अभिलेखों में राजमहिषी का उल्लेख मिलता है।[३८] इस प्रकार गुप्त और समकालीन राजवंशों से पत्नी, संरक्षिका और माता तीनों रूपों में स्त्रियों के महत्वपूर्ण योगदान का परिचय प्राप्त होता है।

पूर्व-मध्यकाल भारतीय इतिहास में विकेन्द्रीकरण और सत्ता संघर्ष का काल है। इस कालावधि में अनेक क्षेत्रीय राजवंशों का उदय हुआ। इस समय भारतीय इतिहास अनेक गौरवपूर्ण घटनाओं एवं कृतियों से युक्त होता हुआ भी यथार्थ में एक पतनोन्मुख समाज का चित्र प्रस्तुत करता है।[३९] इस समय स्त्रियों की स्थिति निरन्तर ह्रासोन्मुख दिखाई देती है। इसके उपरान्त भी इस काल में स्त्रियों का प्रशासिकाओं के रूप में उल्लेख मिलता है। काश्मीर के इतिहास के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि ९०२ ई० में गोपालवर्मन् काश्मीर का शासक बना और उसकी मां सुगन्धा उसकी संरक्षिका बनी। इसी समय प्रभाकर नामक मंत्री के षडयन्त्र से गोपालवर्मन् की हत्या कर दी गई। इसके बाद भी सुगन्धा राज्य पर अधिकार बनाये रखने में सफल रही। इससे स्पष्ट है कि सुगन्धा में सफल प्रशासिका के गुण विद्यमान थे। काश्मीर के इतिहास में दिद्दा का नाम सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण है। दिद्दा क्षेमगुप्त की पत्नी और लोहारवंश की थी। क्षेमगुप्त के शासनकाल में प्रशासन पर उसका महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव था। उसके सिक्कों पर दिद्दा का नाम उत्कीर्ण मिलता है, जो उसके प्रभाव का परिचायक है। लोगों ने उसका नाम ही दिद्दाक्षेम रख दिया था।[४०] क्षेमगुप्त की मृत्यु के बाद दिद्दा ने अपने अल्प वयस्क पुत्र अभिमन्यु की संरक्षिका के रूप में शासन की सत्ता प्राप्त की। इस समय उसने अनेक प्रभावशाली व्यक्तियों को प्रशासन से हटाकर विद्रोहों का सफलता के साथ दमन किया। अपने शत्रुओं को नष्ट करने के लिये वह हर प्रकार के उपायों

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३६. वाकाटक-गुप्त एज, पृ० १११
३७. बील : रिकार्डस ऑफ दि वेस्टर्न वर्ल्ड, भाग १, पृ० १६८-१७१
३८. सेलेक्ट इन्सक्रिप्शन्स, ३९
३९. पुरुषोत्तम लाल भार्गव : प्राचीन भारत, पृ० ४३०
४०. पृथ्वीनाथ कौल बमजाई : ए हिस्ट्री ऑफ काश्मीर, पृ० १३३

को अपनाने के लिये तत्पर रहती थी।[४१] दिद्दा चरित्र से गर्हित, षडयन्त्री और कुटिल होते हुए भी राजनीतिक सूझ-बूझ और चातुरी से युक्त थी। उसमें प्रशासकीय प्रतिभायें भी भरपूर थीं। उन्हीं गुणों के कारण वह गद्दी प्राप्त करने में सफल हुई थी।[४२] दिद्दा ने विरोधों के बावजूद काश्मीर के प्रशासन को लगभग पचास वर्षों तक शान्तिपूर्वक और सफलतापूर्वक संचालित किया। अपनी कमियों के साथ ही साथ दिद्दा में प्रशासकीय क्षमता उच्चकोटि की थी।

उड़ीसा के पूर्व मध्यकालीन इतिहास में कर वंश ने दीर्घ काल तक राज्य किया। इसी कर वंश में त्रिभुवन महादेवी ने अपने पुत्र कुसुमहार की मृत्यु के बाद प्रशासन का सूत्र ग्रहण किया था और प्रशासन का सफलता के साथ संचालन किया। कर शासन के अंतिम दिनों में कई रानियाँ क्रम से गद्दी पर बैठीं। गौरी (पंचम शुभाकर की रानी), उसकी पुत्री दण्ड महादेवी, उसकी विमाता बकुला महादेवी और लवण भार की रानी धर्म महादेवी ने क्रमशः प्रशासन की बागडोर संभाली।[४३] यह एक महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य है कि लगातार चार रानियों ने प्रशासन का संचालन किया। अल्टेकर इन्हें केवल संरक्षिका मानते हैं।[४४] उपरोक्त विवरण के आधार पर यह स्वीकार किया जा सकता है कि संरक्षिका होते हुए भी शासन की बागडोर इनके हाथों में थी। इसकी पुष्टि इनके द्वारा 'परम भट्टारिका' और 'महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वरी' जैसी उपाधियों के धारण करने से होती है।

गुजरात के चालुक्यवंशीय शासक जयसिंह सिद्धराज की माता मयणल्लादेवी ने उसकी अल्प-वयस्कता में शासन का संचालन किया और जयसिंह की आरम्भिक कठिनाइयों का सफलतापूर्वक निराकरण किया। इसी प्रकार नायिका देवी ने अपने पुत्र भीम द्वितीय के अल्पायु होने पर गुजरात का प्रशासन संरक्षिका के रूप में चलाया। पृथ्वीराज चौहान तृतीय की अल्पायु में उसकी माता कर्पूरदेवी ने अजमेर का शासन संरक्षिका के रूप में संभाला था। काकतीय रुदम्बा अपने पिता गणपति के बाद वारंगल की शासिका बनी। वह बड़ी ही योग्य शासिका थी। वेनिस के यात्री मार्कोपोलो ने जो ११९३ ई० में उसके राज्य में आया था, उसके शासन की बड़ी प्रशंसा की है।

प्रशासिका और संरक्षिका के साथ ही साथ गवर्नर के रूप में अक्कादेवी का उल्लेख मिलता है, जिसको उसकी योग्यता के कारण गवर्नर बनाया गया था। इसी

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४१. राजतरंगिणी, षष्ठम्, पृ० २११-२५८

४२. विशुद्धानन्द पाठक : **उत्तर भारत का राजनीतिक इतिहास**, पृ० १९८

४३. वही, पृ० २८९

४४. अल्टेकर : **प्राचीन भारतीय शासन पद्धति**, पृ० २७६

प्रकार से मंत्री के रूप में सोमनाथईया और बलाईया का न्यायाधीश के रूप में उल्लेख मिलता है।[४५]

वैदिक काल से तेरहवीं शताब्दी तक के ऐतिहासिक सर्वेक्षण से ज्ञात होता है कि प्राचीन भारतीय प्रशासन में स्त्रियों का विभिन्न कालों में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान था, और उन्होंने विभिन्न रूपों और पदों पर दायित्वों का सफलतापूर्वक निर्वाह किया।

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४५. कल्चरल हेरिटेज ऑफ इंडिया, भाग २, पृ० ५९९-६००

भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य कालनिर्णयः

महेशदत्त शर्मा

नई दिल्ली

After carefully examining different views regarding the date of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, the author on the basis of some fresh evidences concludes that Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita in all probability flourished sometime between 1535 and 1625 A.D.

भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य कालनिर्धारणं कुर्वन्तोऽनेके विद्वांसः पृथक् पृथक् मतमनुसरन्तो दृश्यन्ते। तत्र भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य को गुरुरिति विषये भिन्नानि मतानि सन्ति। अस्य प्रश्नस्यानिश्चितिरेव कालनिर्णये यः सन्देहस्तस्य मूलभूतं कारणम्। वाई० महालिङ्गशास्त्रिमतेन अप्पयदीक्षितो भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य गुरुरासीत्। शिवानन्दयोगीन्द्रनाम्ना संन्यासिना अप्पयदीक्षितेन्द्रविजयनामके ग्रन्थे अप्पयदीक्षितस्य जन्मकालनिर्देशः कृतः[1]। तेन प्रमाणीक्रियते यद् अप्पयदीक्षितः ४६५४ कलौ (=१५५३ खिष्टाब्दे) समुत्पन्न आसीत। शिवानन्दयोगीन्द्रेणायमेवार्थोऽप्पयदीक्षितप्रणीतस्य आत्मार्पणस्तुतिग्रन्थस्य टीकायां निरूपितः। परं नीलकण्ठविरचिते शिवलीलार्णवेऽप्पयदीक्षितस्य कालविषये पृथक् पन्थाः। तत्र अप्पयदीक्षित आयुषो द्वासप्तर्ति (७२) प्राप्य शतं प्रबन्धांश्चक्रे[2] इति निर्देशः। अप्पयदीक्षितश्च चिन्नतिम्म-चिन्नबोम्म-वेङ्कटपतिदेवादिराजा-

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1. Y. M. Sastri, *Appayya Dikṣita's Age*, JOR, II, (3-4), 225.

वीणातत्त्वज्ञसंख्यालसितकलिसमाभाक् प्रमाती च वर्षे
कन्यामासेऽथ कृष्णप्रथमतिथियुतेऽप्युत्तरप्रोष्ठपाद्मे।
कन्यालग्नेऽद्रिकन्यापतिरमितदयाशेवधिर्वैदिकेषु
श्रीदेव्यै प्राग्यथोक्तं समजनि हि समीपेऽत्र काञ्चीनगर्याम्॥१॥
(v.l.—श्रीदेव्यै प्राग्यथाह स्म समजनि विरञ्चीशपुर्यां कलेशः)

लग्ने रवीन्द्रसुतयोर्मकरे च मान्दौ मीने शशिन्यथ वृषे रविजे च राहौ।
चापे गुरौ क्षितिसुते मिथुने तुलायां शुक्रे शिखिन्यलिगते शुभलग्न एवम्॥२॥

२. तत्रैव, पृ० २२७

कालेन शम्भुः किल तावतापि कलाश्चतुष्षष्टिमिताः प्रणिन्ये।
द्वासप्तर्ति प्राप्य समाः प्रबन्धान् शतं व्यधादप्पयदीक्षितेन्द्रः।

नामाश्रयप्राप्तः पण्डित आसीत्। तेषां त्रयाणामपि राज्ञां प्रशासनकालः १५४२-१५९३ खिष्टाब्दमध्ये वर्तते। यदा च अप्पयदीक्षितो द्वासप्ततिवर्षदेशीय आसीत्, तदा वेङ्कटपतिदेवोऽप्पयदीक्षितस्यान्तिम आश्रयदाता बभूव। अस्य वेङ्कटपतिदेवस्य शासनसमये भट्टोजिदीक्षितः वाराणसीतः समागत्य अप्पयदीक्षितात् विद्यामुपासितवान्। वेङ्कटपतिदेवस्य निर्देशो भट्टोजिदीक्षितेन तत्त्वकौस्तुभाख्ये ग्रन्थे[3] कृतोऽस्ति। तद्वदेव भट्टोजिदीक्षितेन तन्त्रसिद्धान्तदीपिकायामप्पयदीक्षितस्य वन्दनं कृतम्[4]। अत स भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य गुरुः इति ज्ञायते। तत्सर्वं विचार्य महालिङ्ग शास्त्रिणोऽप्पयदीक्षितस्य कालं १५२० तः १५९३ खिष्टाब्दपर्यन्तं निर्धारयन्ति। परञ्च प्रो० पी० वी० काणेमहोदया[5] महालिङ्गशास्त्रिणामिदं मतं नोररीकुर्वन्ति। ते कथयन्ति यद् यस्मिन् शिलालेखे[6] वयमप्पयदीक्षितस्योल्लेखं पश्यामः स यदि अप्पयदीक्षितस्योत्तरकाले उत्कीर्णः स्यात्; तद्वदेव यदि शिवानन्दयोगीन्द्रप्रदत्तमप्पयदीक्षितस्य जन्मपत्रमुत्तरवर्तिकाले विलिखितं भवेत् तदा तु महालिङ्गशास्त्रिभिः कृतोऽप्पयदीक्षितस्य कालनिर्णयः सर्वथा अनुचित एव स्यात्। अतः शास्त्रिभिः स्वीकृतं १५२० तः १५९३ खिष्टाब्दपर्यन्तमप्पयदीक्षितस्य कालनिर्णयमस्वीकुर्वन्तः प्रो० काणेमहाभागाः १५५४ तः १६२६ खिष्टाब्दपर्यन्तं तस्य समयं स्वीकुर्वन्ति। ते तत्र हुल्त्जमहोदयप्रदत्तशिलालेखानां विवरणं समधिकृत्यैवं कथयन्ति यद् अप्पयदीक्षितस्य पितामह आचार्यदीक्षितः (आच्चान्) पिता च रङ्गराजाध्वरिः आसीत्। चिन्नबोम्मेन अप्पयदीक्षितो ग्रन्थलेखनार्थं प्रेरित आसीत्। अयं चिन्नबोम्मश्चिन्नवीरस्य पुत्रो लिङ्गमनायकस्य च पिता आसीत्। एतादृशं विवरणं विलापाकदानपत्रे दृश्यते यस्य लेखनकालः १५२३ शकाब्दो वर्तते। वेल्लोरवास्तव्यस्य चिन्नबोम्मस्य शिलालेखाः १४७१-१४८८ शकसंवत्सरेषु समुत्कीर्णाः सन्ति। येन वेङ्कटपतिदेवेन अप्पयदीक्षितः कुवलयान्दरचनार्थं सम्प्रेरित आसीत् स प्रथमो वेङ्.कटदेव आसीत् यस्य शिलालेखाः १५०८-१५७५ शकाभ्यन्तरे (=१५८६-१६१३ खिष्टाब्दमध्ये) वरीवर्तन्ते। एतत्सर्वं विमृश्य प्रो० काणेमहाभागा अप्पयदीक्षितस्य कालं १५५४ तः १६२६ खिटाब्दपर्यन्तं निर्धारयन्ति। परञ्च डॉ० राघवन्महोदयकृतं[7] 'अप्पयनामानस्त्रयो जना एकस्मिन्नेव वंशे

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3. द्र०—युधिष्ठिरमीमांसकः, सं० व्या० शा० इति० प्रथमोभागः, प्रथम सं०, पृ० ५२, ३५६।

4. Y. M. Sastri, *ibid.*, 233—

अप्पयदीक्षितेन्द्रानशेषविद्यागुरूनहं वन्दे।
यत्कृतिबोधाबोधौ विद्वदविद्विभाजकोपाधी॥

5. P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1961, 319—320.

6. Y. M. Sastri, *ibid.*, 225—237.

7. V. Raghavan, *Appayya Dīkṣitas II and III*", *PAIOC* (X Session), 176—180.

cf. P. V. Kane *ibid.*, 1961 321.

पृथक्-पृथक् कालवर्तिन आसन् इति' विवेचनमप्पयदीक्षितस्य कालं संशयपदवीमारोहयति। श्री एन्० अय्यास्वामिशास्त्रिणोऽपि[8] इदमेवानुमन्वते। तेषां मतेन तन्त्रसिद्धान्तदीपिकायाः प्रणेता नासीद् भट्टोजिदीक्षितः, अपि तु तस्याः कर्ता तृतीयोऽप्पयदीक्षितः, यो नीलकण्ठदीक्षितस्य कनिष्ठो भ्राता, द्वितीयस्य अप्पयदीक्षितस्य च दत्तकपुत्र आसीत्। एतत्सर्वमप्पयदीक्षितस्य कालनिर्णये महतीं शङ्कामुद्भावयति। एतेषां कतमोऽप्पयदीक्षितो भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य गुरुरासीदिति निश्चेतुं न किमपि प्रबलं प्रमाणं पश्यामः।

भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य कालं निर्धारयितुं श्रीयुधिष्ठिरमीमांसकमहोदया[9] हस्तलेखस्य प्रमाणं पुरतः स्थापयन्ति। ते एवं प्रतिपादयन्ति यद् विट्ठलप्रणीतस्य प्रक्रियाकौमुदीप्रसादस्य (प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीकायाः) प्राचीनतमो हस्तलेखो लन्दनस्थभारतकार्यालयपुस्तकालये विद्यमानोऽस्ति यस्योपरि १५३६ विक्रमाब्दो (=१४७९ ख्रिष्टाब्दो) लिपिकालो वर्तते। विट्ठलेन व्याकरणस्याध्ययनं श्रीशेषकृष्णस्य (प्रक्रियाकौमुदीप्रकाशटीकाकर्तुः) पुत्रात् वीरेश्वराभिधानात् (=रामेश्वरात्) कृतमासीत्[10]। श्रीशेषकृष्णप्रणीतायाः प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीकाया एकौ हस्तलेखः पुण्यपत्तनस्थभाण्डारकरप्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरे समुपलभ्यते यस्योपरि १५१४ विक्रमाब्दो (=१४५७ ख्रिष्टाब्दो) लिपिकालो वर्तते[11]। अनेन प्रकाशटीकायाः प्रसादटीकायाश्चोपलब्धहस्तलेखद्वयसहकारेण (१४७९=१४५७ ख्रिष्टाब्दः) इदं कथयितुं शक्यते यत् श्रीशेषकृष्णस्य मृत्युः १५२५ विक्रमाब्दे (=१४६८ ख्रिष्टाब्दे) अभविष्यत्। अन्यच्च, भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रणीतशब्दकौस्तुभे प्रक्रियाप्रकाशग्रन्थकर्तुर्गुरुचरण इति निर्देशेन[12] तथा पण्डितराजजगन्नाथप्रणीतमनोरमाकुचमर्दनग्रन्थप्रदर्शितप्रमाणेन[13] च एतज्ज्ञायते यत् प्रौढमनोरमा-

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8. N. A. Sastri, *"Appayya III and His Mīmāṃsā work Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā"*, JOR, 1928, II, 247–250.

9. द्र०–तत्रैव, प्रथमो भागः ३५२-३५३।

10. द्र०–**प्रक्रिया कौमुदी** प्रसादटीका सहिता, द्वितीयो भागः, श्लोकः १०, तमर्भकं कृष्णगुरोर्नमामि रामेश्वराचार्यगुरुं गुणाब्धिम्॥ पृ० ७९८

11. अयं लिपिकालो युधिष्ठिरमीमांसकसंमतः।
cf. *List of MSS...BORI*, Poona 1925, 12 (MS. No. 328).

12. 'तदेतत् सकलमभिधाय प्रक्रियाप्रकाशे गुरुचरणैरुक्तम्'॥ द्र०—**सं० व्या० शा० इति०**, प्रथमभागः, टिप्पणम् २. पृ० ३५२।

13. "शेषवंशावतंसानां श्रीकृष्णाख्यपण्डितानां चिरायार्चितयोः पादुकयोः प्रसादादासादितशब्दानुशासनास्तेषु च पारमेश्वरपदं प्रयातेषु................ प्रक्रियाप्रकाशमाशयानवबोधनिबन्धनैर्दूषणैः स्वयं निर्मितायां मनोरमायामाकुल्यकार्षुः....."। **प्रौ० म० कुच०**, पृ० १॥

कर्ता भट्टोजिदीक्षितः श्रीशेषकृष्णस्य शिष्य आसीत्। एतेन वयमनुमिनुमो यत् भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य जीवनकालः प्रायः १५१०-१५७५ विक्रमाब्दमध्ये (=१४५३-१५१८ ख्रिष्टाब्दमध्ये) वर्तते। भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य कालं निर्धारयितुं श्रीयुधिष्ठिरमीमांसक-निर्धारितोऽप्पयदीक्षितस्य समयोऽपि विचारणीयः। तेषां मतेन भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्तत्त्व-कौस्तुभेऽप्पयदीक्षितं स्तौति, यस्य कालः १५३०-१६०२ विक्रमाब्दमध्ये (=१४७३-१५४५ ख्रिष्टाब्दमध्ये) स्वीकृतो वर्तते। अनेन प्रमाणेन भट्टोजिदीक्षितोऽप्पयदीक्षितस्य शिष्यस्तथा च तस्य कालः १५१०-१५७५ विक्रमाब्दे (=१४५३-१५१८ ख्रिष्टाब्दे) निर्णय इति (श्रीयुधिष्ठिरमीमांसकमतम्)[१४]।

एतेन श्रीयुधिष्ठिरमीमांसककृतनिर्देशेनेदं सुस्पष्टं यद् भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य जन्म तस्य गुरोरप्पयदीक्षितस्य जन्मनोऽपेक्षया उपविंशतिवर्षाणि पूर्ववर्ति। यदा च भट्टोजि-दीक्षितेन अप्पयदीक्षिताद् विद्या समुपलब्धा तदा तु भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्यायुः ४० वर्षाणां ५० वर्षाणां वा भविष्यति अप्पयदीक्षितस्य च विंशतिः त्रिंशद् वर्षाणां वा परन्नैतादृशं स्वीकरणं गुरुशिष्यपरम्परायामनुचितमेव प्रतीयते।

अन्यच्च श्रीयुधिष्ठिरमीमांसकैः सङ्केतितः प्रकाशटीकाहस्तलेखस्य लिपिकालः पुण्यपत्तनस्थभाण्डारकरप्राच्यविद्यामन्दिरात् १९२५ ख्रिष्टाब्दे प्रकाशितहस्तलेख-सूचीपत्रप्रमाणमनुसृत्य कृतो वर्तते,[१५] परं तत्सूचीपत्रं साम्प्रतं १९३८ ख्रिष्टाब्दे प्रका-शितहस्तलेखसूचीपत्रापेक्षया दोषपूर्णम्; यतो ह्यस्मिन् नवीनहस्तलेखसूचीपत्रे युधि-ष्ठिरमीमांसकद्वारा निर्दिष्टप्रक्रिया प्रकाशहस्तलेखस्य लिपिकालो १७१४ संवत् (=१६५७ ख्रिष्टाब्दः) वर्तते[१६]। परं १९२५ ख्रिष्टाब्दे प्रकाशितहस्तलेखसूचीपत्रेऽस्य हस्तलेखस्य १५१४ संवत् (=१४५७ ख्रिष्टाब्दः) लिपिकाल इति निर्दिष्टम्। यतः पूर्वकालप्रकाशितहस्तलेखसूचीपत्रापेक्षया उत्तरवर्तिकालप्रकाशितसूचीपत्रं संस्कृतं संशो-धितस्वरूपं च वर्तते, अतस्तदेव प्रमाणीकर्तव्यम्। एतेनैवप्रमाणेनायमपि सिद्धान्तो दुरुपपादनीयो यत् प्रकाशटीकाकर्तुः श्रीशेषकृष्णस्य मृत्युः १५२५ विक्रमाब्दसमीपे (=१४६८ ख्रिष्टाब्दसमीपे) अभविष्यत्।

अपि च श्रीशेषकृष्ण एव भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य गुरुः स्वीक्रियेत् चेत् तर्हीदमप्यत्र चिन्तनीयं यत् शोधकर्तृणां स्वकीयेष्वेव ग्रन्थेषु पूर्वलिखितवचनापेक्षया उत्तरवर्तिलिखित-वचनेषु परस्परं विरोधो दृश्यते। पं० युधिष्ठिरमीमांसकैः प्रथमं भट्टोजिदीक्षितं श्री-

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14. तत्रैव, प्रथमो भागः, पृ० ३५६

15. *Ibid.*, p. 12 (MS. No. 328).

16. ***Descriptive Catalogue of MSS BORI***, II, (i) 1938, (MS. No. 113, 1895–1902).

शेषकृष्णपुत्रस्य रामेश्वरस्य (वीरेश्वरस्य) शिष्यत्वेन स्वीकृत्य[17] तदग्रे पुनः श्रीशेषकृष्णस्यैव भट्टोजिदीक्षितः शिष्य इति निरूपितम्[18]। तथैव प्रो० पी० वी० काणे महोदयाः प्रथमं भट्टोजिदीक्षितः श्रीशेषकृष्णस्यान्तेवासीत्युक्त्वा[19] तदग्रपृष्ठे प्रदर्शितेन मानचित्रद्वयेन तैस्तत्र विरोध उपस्थापितः; यतस्तत्र 'अ' मानचित्रे भट्टोजिदीक्षितः श्रीशेषकृष्णस्य शिष्यो 'ब' मानचित्रे च सैव श्रीशेषकृष्णपुत्रवीरेश्वरस्य शिष्यः प्रदर्शितः[20]। वाराणसीवास्तव्यं शेषवंशं वर्णयन्तो विशाखापट्टमवास्तव्या आर्यवरगुरुरित्युपाधिभाज एस्० पी० वी० रङ्गनाथस्वामिमहाभागाः पेरुभट्ट-जगन्नाथ-भट्टोजिदीक्षित-अन्नभट्टादीन् श्रीशेषकृष्णपुत्रवीरेश्वरस्य शिष्यत्वेनाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति[21], परमेतन्मतं श्रीनारायणशास्त्रीपेण्डसे-सत्यव्रतशास्त्रिमहाभागादयो[22] नानुमन्यन्ते ते हि भट्टोजिदीक्षितं श्रीशेषकृष्णस्यैव शिष्यत्वेन स्वीकुर्वन्ति।

यद्यपि भट्टोजिदीक्षितः श्रीशेषकृष्णपुत्रवीरेश्वरस्य (रामेश्वरस्य) शिष्योऽस्ति न वेतीत्यत्र नास्ति किमपि प्रबलं प्रमाणं तथापि नैकेषां विदुषामुपरिनिर्दिष्टानि मतानि अस्मिन् विषयेऽवश्यं शङ्कां जनयन्ति। तेनास्मिन् विषये दार्ढ्येन किमपि वक्तुं न पार्यते।

अथ च वर्ततेऽस्याः शङ्काया द्वितीयमपि कारणम्। पण्डितराजजगन्नाथः शेषकृष्णपुत्रवीरेश्वरं (रामेश्वरं) गुरुत्वेन स्वीकरोति[23]। स च पण्डितराजः ख्रिष्टाब्दस्य सप्तदशशतकपूर्वार्धे दिल्लीपतेः शाहजहाँनृपतेः सभापण्डित आसीत्[24]। इतश्च प्रक्रियाकौमुदीप्रसादकर्ता विट्ठलोऽपि स्वकीये ग्रन्थान्ते "तमर्भकं कृष्णगुरोर्नमामि रामेश्वराचार्यगुरुं गुणाब्धिम्[25]" इत्यनेन श्रीशेषकृष्णपुत्ररामेश्वरं (वीरेश्वरं) निजगुरुत्वेन प्रणमति। यदि वयं श्री युधिष्ठिरमीमांसकानां मतं स्वीकुर्मो यत् प्रसादटीकायाः १५३६

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17. द्र०—सं० व्या० शा० इति०, प्रथमो भागः, २९४।

18. तत्रैव, पृ० ३५२-३५३।

19. P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics,* 1961, 324.

20. तत्रैव ३२५।

21. S. P. V. Ranganathasvami (Aryavarguru of Vizagapatam), *"On the Seshas of Benares", IA,* XLI, 245–253.

22. द्र०–वैयाकरणभूषणसारः (भैमीभाष्योपेतः), दिल्ली, १९६८, भूमिकाभागे प्रस्तुतं मानचित्रम्, पृ० ४।

23. ....अस्मद् गुरुवीरेश्वरपण्डितानां तनयैर्दूषितापि स्वमतिपरीक्षार्थं पुनरस्माभिरपि निरीक्ष्यते॥ प्रौ० म० कुच०, पृ० १।

24. सं० व्या० शा० इति०, प्रथमो भागः, ३५४-३५५॥

25. प्र० कौ० प्रसादटीकासहिता, द्वितीयो भागः, श्लोक १०, पृ० ७९८।

विक्रमाब्दे (=१४७९ खिष्टाब्दे) लिखित् एको हस्तलेखो लन्दनस्थभारतकार्यालय-पुस्तकालये वरीवर्ति, तर्हि विषमा स्थितिः सञ्जायते; यतः शाहजहाँनृपतिः १६८५ विक्रमाब्दे (=१६२८ खिष्टाब्दे) राजपदवीमलङ्करोति स्म यस्य राज्यपरिषदि पण्डितराजजगन्नाथः सभापण्डित आसीत्। एतेन निर्देशेन विट्ठलस्य शाहजहाँनृपतेश्च कार्यकालमध्ये १५० वर्षाणां व्यवधानं स्वयं श्रीयुधिष्ठिरमीमांसकमतेनैव संभवति। परं १५० वर्षाणां व्यवधानस्य स्पष्टीकरणे ते सर्वथा असमर्थाः। अपि च यद्येवं स्वीक्रियेत् यद् विट्ठलाचार्यः पण्डितराजजगन्नाथश्च उभावप्येकस्यैव गुरोः शिष्यौ आस्ताम्, तदा तु इदमपि स्वीकरणीयं यद् विट्ठलेन स्वग्रन्थप्रसादटीकायाः, यस्या हस्तलेखस्य लिपिकालः १५३६ विक्रमाब्दो (=१४७९ खिष्टाब्दो) वर्तते, रचनात् किञ्चित् कालपूर्वं रामेश्वरात् (वीरेश्वरात्) शब्दशास्त्रस्याध्ययनं कृतं भविष्यति। एतत्स्वीकारे स (विट्ठलः) शाह-जहाँनृपतिसमकालः पण्डितराजजगन्नाथश्च एकस्यैव गुरोः शिष्यौ आस्ताम् इत्युक्ति असमर्थनीया।

किञ्च यद्येवं स्वीक्रियेत् यद् भट्टोजिप्रणीतशब्दकौस्तुभे स्मृतः प्रक्रियाप्रकाश-कारस्तथा च पण्डितराजजगन्नाथविरचितप्रौढमनोरमाकुचमर्दने स्मृतः कृष्णपण्डित एक एवासीत् तर्हि उपरिनिर्दिष्टप्रसादटीकाया हस्तलेखः सर्वथा अनौचित्यमेव विधत्ते; यतः खिष्टाब्दस्य सप्तदशशतकस्य प्रथमचरणे विद्यमानात् पण्डितराजजगन्नाथात् तस्य (पण्डितराजस्य) गुरोः शेषवीरेश्वराच्च पूर्वं श्रीशेषकृष्णस्य जीवनकाल इति मन्तव्यम्। तथा च श्रीशेषकृष्णः षोडशशतकखिष्टाब्दे निःसंशयमेवासीदिति शब्दान्तरेण कथयितुं शक्यते।

डॉ० सालेटोरमतेन[26] १५७५-१६२५ खिष्टाब्दमध्यवर्ती, श्री राववहादुर वाम्व-डेंकरमतेन[27] १५७०-१६३५ खिष्टाब्दमध्यवर्ती, डॉ० एस्० के० वेलवेलकरमतेन[28] १६३० खिष्टाब्दसमीपवर्ती, प्रो० एस्० पी० चतुर्वेदिमतेन[29] १६०० खिष्टाब्दः, प्रो० पी०

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26. P. K. Gode, *A New Approach to the Date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita ASVORI*, 1940, I, 117, 1.

इदं शोधपत्रं *Studies in Indian Literary History*, II, 65–74 (Bombay 1954) इत्यत्रापि प्रकाशितं वर्तते।

27. राववहादुरवासुदेवअनन्तवाम्बर्डेकर, **भट्टोजिदीक्षितज्ञातिविवेक**, मुम्बई, १९३९, पृ० ३४९।

28. S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, 46–47.

29. S. P. Chaturvedi, *History of An Important Historical Word in the Pāṇini School of Grammar*, *PAIOC*, 1935, 742.

बी० काणेमतेन[30] १५८०-१६३० खिष्टाब्द-मध्यवर्ती, श्री ए० बी० कीथमतेन[31] १७०० खिष्टाब्दः, श्री एम्० विण्टरनिट्जमतेन[32] च १६२५ खिष्टाब्दो भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य कालः। परं प्रो० पी० के० गोडेमहोदयैर्भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रणीतग्रन्थानां हस्तलेखानां लिपिकालं समधिकृत्य भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य कालो महता प्रबन्धेन निर्धारितः[33]। तेषां मतेन भट्टोजिदीक्षितगुरुचरणैर्नृसिंहाश्रममहोदयैः पुरुषोत्तमपुरस्थाने १५४७ खिष्टाब्दे तत्त्वविवेक नामा ग्रन्थ प्रणीत आसीत् यस्य ग्रन्थस्य द्वितीयहस्तलेखस्य लिपिकालः १५५८ खिष्टाब्दो वर्तते। ते तत्र लिखन्ति यद् डॉ० दासगुप्तानुसारेण नृसिंहाश्रमस्य १५०० खिष्टाब्दसमीपवर्ती कालः। अपि च नृसिंहाश्रमप्रणीततत्त्वविवेकग्रन्थोपरि भट्टोजिदीक्षितशिष्येन नीलकण्ठशुक्लाभिधानेन शब्दशोभानाम्नी टीका विरचितासीत्[34]।

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30. P. V. Kane, *ibid.*, 324.

अपि च प्रो० काणेमतेन भट्टोजिदीक्षितकालविषये नास्ति कोऽपि निश्चितो मानदण्डः यतो हि ते १५७५-१६५०; १५६०-१६२०; १६२५ खिष्टाब्दम् इति सन्देहरूपेण तस्य कालं निर्धारयन्ति; द्र०—*History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, 716, 517, 454

31. A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, 430, fn. 4.

32. M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, III (2), Tr. *S. Jha*, 1967, 435.

33. P. K. Gode, *A New Approach to the Date of Bhṭṭoji Dīkṣita, ASVORI*, I (2), 117–127; *Studies in Indian Literary History*, II, 1954, 65–74.

34. द्र०—तत्रैव, टिप्पणभागे पृ० १२२—(अशुद्धिसंवलितः पाठः)

शुक्लजनार्दनपुत्रो वछाचार्यस्य दौहित्रः।
अभ्यस्तशब्दशास्त्रो भट्टोजिदीक्षितछात्रः॥१॥
महसि प्राप्तनिजजन्मा कविनीत शर्मा निर्मितमेनम्।
विनिर्ममे शैवः॥२॥
यद्यपि खलु वहुलोची नदृषाक्लेशस्तदप्येषः।
तुष्यतु तदेव तेजो विलसति यस्य प्रसादोऽयम्॥३॥
त्रिनवषडेकमब्देतिक्रान्ते विक्रमादित्यात्।
शिवरात्री शिवपदयोर्निजकृतिराधायि नीलकण्ठेन॥

इति श्रीनीलकण्ठकविकल्पिता शब्दशोभा समाप्तिमगात्। श्रीः॥ संवत् १७३६ वर्षे भाद्रपदवदि ७ इन्दुवारे लिखितं कृष्णदासेन। गुर्जर गोडवाली इत्यादिः॥ (अत्र 'त्रिनवषडेकम्' इत्यनेन १६९३ विक्रमाब्दः =१६३७ खिष्टाब्दो बोध्यते)

तस्या हस्तलेखस्य लिपिकालः १६३७ खिष्टाब्द उपलभ्यते। अतो भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य समयः १५००-१६३७ खिष्टाब्दमध्ये वरीवर्ति। भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रणीतग्रन्थानामुपलभ्यमाना हस्तलेखलिपिकाला अमुमेवार्थं पुष्णन्ति। बङ्गस्थरॉयलएशियाटिकसोसायटी इत्यस्यां संस्थायां भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रणीतशब्दकौस्तुभस्य एको हस्तलेखो वर्तते। अस्योपरि १६३३ खिष्टाब्दो लिपिकालः। भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रणीतग्रन्थानामितोऽपि प्राचीनतराः केचन हस्तलेखाः पुण्यपत्तनस्थभाण्डारकरप्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरे समुपलभ्यन्ते। तेषु केचन प्रमाणस्वरूपेणात्र प्रदर्श्यन्ते।

१. प्रौढमनोरमा[35] हस्तलेखसङ्ख्या १३०, $\frac{६७१}{१८८३-८४}$, लिपिकालः संवत् १७१३ (=१६५६ खिष्टाब्दः)।

२. प्रौढमनोरमा[36], हस्तलेखसङ्ख्या १३२; $\frac{३३१}{१८९५-१९०२}$ लिपिकालः संवत् १७०९ (–१६५२ खिष्टाब्दः)।

३. वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी[37], हस्तलेखसङ्ख्या १२२; $\frac{३६}{१९०७-१५}$ लिपिकालः संवत् १७२७ (=१६७० खिष्टाब्दः)। किं च मया तत्र भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रणीतस्य आचारकाण्डनामकग्रन्थस्यापि एको हस्तलेख समुपलब्धः। यस्य १६४८ विक्रमाब्दः (=१५९१ खिष्टाब्दः) लिपिकालो वर्तते[38]।

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35. प्रो० गोडेमहाभागैः स्वशोधपत्रस्य १२१ पृष्ठस्य टिप्पणभागेऽस्य हस्तलेखस्य संख्या $\frac{६५७}{१८८३-८४}$ निर्दिष्टा। परन्तु १९३८ खिष्टाब्दे पुण्यपत्तनस्थभाण्डारकरप्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरप्रकाशितहस्तलेखसूचीपत्रस्य द्वितीयभागस्य प्रथमखण्डानुसारेण हस्तलेखसंख्या $\frac{६७१}{१८८३-८४}$ स्वीकरणीया।

36. प्रो० गोडेमहोदयैः १२१ पृष्ठस्थटिप्पणेऽस्य कालः संवत् १७०८ निर्दिष्टः, परञ्च १९३८ खिष्टाब्दस्य सूचीपत्रानुसारेणात्र संवत् १७०९ लिपिकालो विभावनीयः।

37. प्रो० गोडेमहोदयैः स्वशोधपत्रस्य १२७ पृष्ठेऽस्य हस्तलेखस्य लिपिकालः १५७१ खिष्टाब्दः (१६२८-२७ संवत्) लिखितः। स अनुचितः। अत्र स्थाने संवत् १७२७ (१६७०-७१ खिष्टाब्दः) इत्यावश्यकम्। द्र०—प्रो० गोडेकृतशोधपत्रस्य १२१ पृष्ठे टिप्पणभागः।

38. द्र०—*List of MSS. BORI*, Poona 1925, p. 36 MS. No. $\frac{66}{1899-1915}$

एतेन तत्त्वविवेकशब्दशोभाग्रन्थद्वयहस्तलेखप्रमाणेन भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रणीतग्रन्थानामुपलभ्यमानहस्तलेखानां साक्ष्येन च प्रो० पी० के० गोडेमहोदयाः १५४७-१६-३७ खिृष्टाब्दमध्ये भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य कालं मन्यन्ते। परञ्च तैरेवान्यस्मिन् शोधपत्रे[39] तस्य (भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य) कालः १५६० तः १६२० खिृष्टाब्दपर्यन्तं स्वीकृतः।

एतदतिरिक्तं वाराणसीस्थसरस्वतीभवनग्रन्थालयस्य हस्तलेखसूचीपत्रेऽपि भट्टोजिदीक्षितविरचितानां केषाञ्चित ग्रन्थानां हस्तलेखानां लिपिकाल उपरिनिर्दिष्टकालापेक्षया पूर्ववर्ती। परमस्योल्लेखः प्रो० गोडेमहोदयैः स्वशोधपत्रे न कृतः। सुस्पष्टयेऽधस्तात् केचन हस्तलेखा लिपिकालपुरस्सरं प्रस्तूयन्ते।

१. मासतिथिनिर्णयः[40], हस्तलेखसङ्ख्या १३८६५, लिपिकालः १६१२ विक्रमाब्दः (=१५५५ खिृष्टाब्दः)।

२. वैयाकरणसिध्दान्तकौमुदी[41], हस्तलेखसङ्ख्या ३८५६०, लिपिकालः १५०३ शकाब्दः (=१५८१ खिृष्टाब्दः)।

३. तिथिनिर्णयः[42], हस्तलेखसङ्ख्या १२४५९, लिपिकालः १६९१ विक्रमाब्दः (=१६३४ खिृष्टाब्दः)।

४. वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी[43], हस्तलेखसङ्ख्या ४०१९३, लिपिकालः १६९१ विक्रमाब्दः (=१६३४ खिृष्टाब्दः)।

एतेषु उपरिनिर्दिष्टहस्तलेखेषु यदि मासतिथिनिर्णयस्य लिपिकालः समुचितः स्यात् तर्हि भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य जन्मापि १५५५ खिृष्टाब्दात् न्यूनातिन्यूनं विंशतिवर्षपूर्वं भवितुमर्हति तथा च स्वीकृते एतादृशे न प्रतीयते कापि विप्रतिपत्तिः[44]।

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39. P. K. Gode, *Varadarāja, A pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, P. V. Kane comm. Vol.* (A Volume of Studies in Indology), Poona, 1941, 188.

40. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. Govt. Sanskrit College Library,* Benaras, III, 1956, 196.

41. तत्रैव, हस्तलेखसूचीपत्रभागः १०, पृ० ६२ (१९६४)।

42. तत्रैव, हस्तलेखसूचीपत्रभागः ३, पृ० ६४ (१९५६)।

43. तत्रैव, हस्तलेखसूचीपत्रभागः १०, पृ० २१६ (१९६४)।

44. सरस्वतीभवनग्रन्थालयस्थहस्तलेखेषु वर्तन्ते केचन अप्रामाणिका उल्लेखाः। हस्तलेखसूचीपत्रस्य तृतीयभागे (१९५६ प्रकाशिते) १६० पृष्ठे भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रणीतचतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यानामकग्रन्थस्य (हस्तलेखसंख्या १३४८८) लिपिकालः ११५९ शकाब्दः (= १२३७ खिृष्टाब्दः) उपलभ्यते। सर्वथा दोषपूर्णोऽयं काल इत्येवाहं मन्ये। तथैव हस्तलेखसूचीपत्रस्य दशमभागे (१९६४ प्रकाशिते) २२६ पृष्ठे लघुशब्देन्दुशेखरग्रन्थस्य (हस्तलेखसंख्या ४०३०४) कर्ता भट्टोजिदीक्षितः प्रदर्शितो यो हि कथमपि स्वीकर्तुं न युज्यते।

अत एव श्रीशेषकृष्ण-नृसिंहाश्रम-अप्पयदीक्षितादिकालविषयमविचार्यापि भट्टोजिदीक्षितप्रणीतग्रन्थोपलब्धहस्तलेखलिपिकालप्रमाणेन भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य कालः १५३५ ख्रिष्टाब्दतः प्रारभ्य सप्तदशख्रिष्टशताब्दीप्रथमचरणपर्यन्तं (=१६२५ ख्रिष्टाब्दपर्यन्तं) भवितुमर्हतीति निर्गलितोऽर्थः।

Abbreviations

JOR–Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

PAIOC–Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference.

ASVORI–Annals of Sri Venkateshwar Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati.

शान्तिपर्व में क्षात्रधर्म की अवधारणा

अतुल कुमार सिनहा
इलाहाबाद

According to Indian view of life the highest goal of a man's life is self-realization. But how a kṣatriya can achieve it as his main duty is to avert *mātsya nyāya* and establish law and order, justice and peace in the society, using power even, if necessary, so that other *varṇas* may have a proper environment suitable for the pursuance of self-realization? What a kṣatriya himself gets in return, is only violence, agony and repentance in the last. *Śānti-parva* of *Mahābhārata* takes up this problem and holds that for a *kṣatriya,* observance of his *svadharma* with *niṣkāmabhāva* is the only way out which guarantees him both the ends of his life—*laukika* as well as *pāramārthika.*

"यूनानियों के लिए अस्तित्व जीवन और यथार्थ से परिपूर्ण है, किन्तु हिन्दुओं के लिए यह एक स्वप्न और भ्रांति है,[1] ? मैक्समूलर का यह कथन पाश्चात्य विचारकों की उस धारणा की पुष्टि करता है जिसके अनुसार भारतीय विचारधारा पारलौकिक उपलब्धि को ही जीवन का सर्वोच्च लक्ष्य मानती है और उसकी तुलना में ऐहलौकिक उपलब्धि को एक तुच्छ और नगण्य वस्तु मानती है। मैक्समूलर का यह कथन, सावधानीपूर्वक आलोचना करने पर, एकांगी ही सिद्ध होता है। यदि भारतीय "दार्शनिकों और पुरोहितों" के परिप्रेक्ष्य में इसका अवलोकन किया जाय तो कुछ सीमा तक यह सत्य सिद्ध हो सकता है किन्तु यदि मैक्समूलर के 'हिन्दू' को सामान्य हिन्दू जन से समीकृत किया जाय तो यह एक भ्रामक विचार ही सिद्ध होता है।[2] यद्यपि धर्म प्राचीन भारतीय जीवन का एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग था और भारतीय जीवन के प्रायः सभी पहलू धर्म से अनुप्राणित थे, तथापि धर्म का सम्बन्ध केवल पारलौकिक उपलब्धि से ही नहीं था। पारलौकिक उप-

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१. एफ. मैक्समूलर, एन्शिएन्ट संस्कृत लिटरेचर, पृ० १८

२. ई० डब्लू० हॉपकिन्स, द सोशल एण्ड मिलिटरी पोजीशन ऑफ द रूलिंग कास्ट्स इन एन्शिएन्ट इण्डिया, वाराणसी, १९७२, पृ० १२६

लब्धियों के साथ-साथ ऐहलौकिक उपलब्धि की प्राप्ति भी धर्म का एक प्रमुख उद्देश्य था। भारतीय विचारधारा के अनुसार धर्म के अन्य तत्वों में "निःश्रेयस्" के साथ-साथ "अभ्युदय" का भी समावेश किया गया है।[3] जीवन के चार पुरुषार्थों–धर्म, अर्थ, काम और मोक्ष—में प्रथम तीन ऐहलौकिक जीवन से ही सम्बन्धित हैं। अतः भौतिक जगत के प्रति भारतीयों की उदासीनता का पाश्चात्य विद्वानों का यह आरोप कुछ उचित नहीं प्रतीत होता।[4] वास्तव में धर्मपूर्वक "अर्थ" और "काम" का सेवन करते हुए मोक्षप्राप्ति का प्रयास करते रहना ही जीवन का चरम लक्ष्य माना गया है।

भारतीय संस्कृति के मूल में व्याप्त जीवन के ऐहलौकिक और पारलौकिक दृष्टिकोणों का यह अन्तर्विरोध और इसके प्रति अपनाया गया भारतीय रुख हमारे प्राचीन साहित्य में कहीं भी इतना उभरकर सामने नहीं आ पाया है जितना कि **महाभारत** के '**शान्तिपर्व**' में। ऐहलौकिक उपलब्धि की पराकाष्ठा राजपद और कीर्ति है जिसे धर्मपूर्वक प्राप्त करने के लिए पाण्डवों ने वनवास और अज्ञातवास जैसे अनेक कष्ट सहे और अन्ततोगत्वा अठारह दिनों तक चलने वाला भीषण संग्राम किया जिसमें सारे कौरव और उनके सहायक मार डाले गए। पाण्डवों को सम्पूर्ण राज्य, विजयश्री और अन्याय के प्रतिकार का प्रत्याशित लाभ हुआ। लेकिन इस लाभ के लिए उन्हें गुरुओं, सगे-सम्बन्धियों और ज्ञातियों का वध करना पड़ा।[5] इस कीमत पर प्राप्त की गयी वह उच्चतम ऐहलौकिक उपलब्धि ही '**शान्तिपर्व**' में मूल्यांकन का विषय बनायी गयी है। मानव जीवन के परमार्थ के समक्ष उसकी तुच्छता को उभारा गया है और परमार्थ के साधन के रूप में पाण्डव जैसे योद्धाओं के हत्या, नृशंसता, स्वार्थ और दम्भ से भरे हुए उन कार्यों का मूल्यांकन किया गया है जो **महाभारत** जैसे धर्मयुद्ध में यथेष्ट रूप से विद्यमान थे। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि यह युद्ध न्याय और धर्म की स्थापना के लिए हुआ, फिर भी हिंसा तो हुई ही, ज्ञातिवध तो हुआ ही और योद्धाओं का स्वार्थ भी हल हुआ ही। क्या इस युद्ध में सफल योद्धाओं को उनके जीवन का सर्वस्व मिल गया? क्या उनकी आत्मायें हिंसा के विगत ताण्डव और सगे सम्बन्धियों से होने वाले वियोग के कारण दुखी नहीं हैं?[6] यदि हैं तो यह कैसी उपलब्धि है जो मनुष्य के चित्त को शांति नहीं दे सकती, उसे उसके जीवन के परमार्थ तक नहीं पहुंचा सकती? यह कैसा धर्म है जो धर्म और न्याय की स्थापना के नाम पर हिंसा, स्वार्थ,

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३. **यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः। वैशेषिक सूत्र**, १.१.३., राधा कमल **मुकर्जी, इण्डियन स्कीम ऑफ लाइफ**, पृ० २०

४. एल० बी० केनी, **प्रेसीडेन्सियल एड्रेस, प्रोसीडिंग्स ऑफ द इन्डियन हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस**, ३४वाँ अधिवेशन, १९७३ चण्डीगढ़, पृ० १३-२९

५. शान्तिपर्व (बी० ओ० आर० आई० संस्करण) पूना १९७३, अध्याय ७·३

६. **शान्ति०** अध्याय १ और ७।

नृशंसता और पश्चात्ताप का मार्ग दिखाता है? महाभारत युद्ध के इस क्रूर यथार्थ के समक्ष योद्धाओं के कार्य को क्या उनका धार्मिक कर्त्तव्य ठहराया जा सकता है? '**शान्तिपर्व**' की समस्त सामग्री वस्तुतः हिंसात्मक वास्तविकता के परिप्रेक्ष्य में छात्रधर्म' की अवधारणा को फिर से प्रतिष्ठित करने का एक प्रयास है।[8] प्रस्तुत लेख इसी प्रयास की विवेचना करने के उद्देश्य से लिखा गया है।

प्राचीन भारत में ऐहलौकिक हितों का बोध "अर्थ" शब्द से कराया जाता था।[9] यद्यपि त्रिवर्ग का "काम" भी ऐहलौकिक है तथापि उपभोगपरक होने के करण उसकी गणना लौकिक सुख के साधनों में न होकर साध्यों में होती है। त्रिवर्ग का "अर्थ" ऐहलौकिक साध्यों अर्थात् "काम" को उपलब्ध कराने वाला साधन है।[10] "अर्थ" से तात्पर्य

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७. क्षात्रधर्म का शाब्दिक अर्थ है क्षत्रिय का धर्म जिसके अन्तर्गत युद्ध और राज्य-संचालन प्रमुख धर्म (कर्तव्य) माने गये हैं। **शान्तिपर्व** में क्षात्रधर्म का प्रयोग योद्धा धर्म तथा राज्य धर्म के सम्मिलित अर्थों में किया गया है। महाभारत काल में प्रत्येक योद्धा के लिये क्षत्रिय होना उसी प्रकार अनिवार्य नहीं था, जिस प्रकार प्रत्येक क्षत्रिय के लिये राजा होना। **महाभारत** में अनेक ऐसे योद्धाओं के प्रमाण मिलते हैं, जो क्षत्रिय नहीं थे। उदाहरणार्थ—कर्ण, द्रोण तथा कृप इन सभी योद्धाओं (क्षत्रिय तथा क्षत्रियेत्तर) के लिये क्षात्रधर्म का प्रयोग ही किया गया है, जो योद्धा धर्म के विशेष संदर्भ में है, और यही इस लेख का विवेच्य है। चूंकि योद्धा होना राजा की एक आवश्यक अर्हता थी इस लिए योद्धा धर्म के साथ ही राज धर्म की संक्षिप्त चर्चा भी प्रस्तुत लेख में क्षात्रधर्म के अन्तर्गत आ गयी है। अंग्रेजी में क्षात्रधर्म के लिए दो शब्द प्रयुक्त किये जाते हैं—'Heroic Ethics' तथा 'Ethics of war'। इनमें 'Heroic Ethics' के सन्दर्भ में ही क्षात्रधर्म की व्याख्या यहाँ अभीष्ट है।

८. इस प्रयास की पृष्ठभूमि वहुत कुछ सार्त्र के अस्तित्ववादी दर्शन की पृष्ठभूमि से मिलती है। किन्तु युद्ध के यथार्थ से उठने वाली समस्याओं से जर्जर जीवन-दर्शन के स्थान पर सार्त्र ने यदि एक नया जीवन दर्शन दिया तो **शान्तिपर्व** के विचारक परम्परागत जीवन-दर्शन के स्वीकृत मूल्यों को नये परिप्रेक्ष्य में फिर से प्रतिष्ठित करते हैं। द्रष्टव्य—**इनसाइक्लोपीडिया ब्रिटेनिका**, जिल्द–१४, पृ० ६९३; योगेन्द्र शाही, —**अस्तित्ववाद किर्कगार्द से कामू तक**, दिल्ली, १९७५, पृ० ४-५, १५०।

९. पी० वी० काणे, **हिस्ट्री ऑफ धर्मशास्त्र**, जिल्द ३, पृ० ७ तथा जिल्द २ पृ० ९, टिप्पणी २२, पूना, १९७३; **कामसूत्र**–१·२०

१०. पी० वी० त्रिपाठी, **पुरुषार्थ-चतुष्टय**, वाराणसी, १९७०, पृ० १४.

मनुष्य की जीविका से है और इसी कारण मनुष्यवती भूमि भी "अर्थ" है।[11] ऐसी मनुष्यवती भूमि के लाभ और पालन के चार महत्वपूर्ण उपाय–साम, दान, भेद और दण्ड बताए गए हैं।[12] युद्ध दण्ड के अन्तर्गत आने वाला अंतिम उपाय है जो तभी प्रयोग में लाया जाता है जब अन्य सभी उपाय विफल हो जायं।[13] युद्ध करने वाले को योद्धा कहते हैं। वह शक्तिशाली होता है किन्तु स्वेच्छाचारी नहीं। उसका बल और धर्म न्याय की रक्षा के लिए होता है, अत्याचार और उत्पीड़न के लिए नहीं। उसके बल का आधार आत्मसंयम है और यह आत्मसंयम इस कोटि का है कि शत्रु के आमने-सामने होते हुए भी उसे संयत और धर्मपरायण होना चाहिए। मृत्यु निश्चित होते हुए भी उसे वीरतापूर्वक लड़ना चाहिए। अपना वचन निभाना चाहिए और विश्वासघात नहीं करना चाहिए[14] योद्धा के इस आदर्श स्वरूप को पाण्डव पूरी तरह अपनाते हैं। वे समर्थ और शक्तिशाली होते हुए भी जुए में हार जाने के बाद अपमानपूर्ण शर्तें स्वीकार कर लेते हैं किन्तु बल प्रयोग नहीं करते।[15] जंगल-जंगल भटकते हैं, एक वर्ष तक अज्ञातवास करते हैं, अपना वचन निभाने के लिए सारी यातनायें भोगते हैं। वचन पूरा कर दिखाने के बाद भी जब कौरव अन्यायपूर्वक उनका अधिकार देने से इन्कार करते हैं तो शान्तिपूर्ण तरीकों को अंतिम बार प्रयोग में लाते हुए वे कृष्ण को वार्ता के लिए भेजते हैं किन्तु जब कृष्ण का प्रयास भी विफल हो जाता है तो अन्याय के प्रतिकार के अंतिम साधन के रूप में दंड अथवा युद्ध का प्रयोग करते हैं।[16] **महाभारत** के प्रतिपक्ष के योद्धा कर्ण और दुर्योधन भी मर्यादित पुरुष हैं। कर्ण के चरित्र को विशेष रूप से योद्धा के आदर्श स्वरूप में उपस्थित करने की चेष्टा की गयी है। पाण्डवों का भाई होने के तथ्य को जानकर भी वह कौरवों का साथ नहीं छोड़ता।[17] भाई होने का सगापन दुर्योधन के साथ मित्रता निभाने की वचनवद्धता से ऊपर नहीं है।[18] वह वीर है, दानी है, वचन का पक्का है।[19] उसमें आदर्श योद्धा के सारे गुण

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११. **अर्थशास्त्र**, सं० आर० पी० कांगले, बम्बई, १९७०, १५.१.१।

१२. **रामायण** (बी० ओ० आर० आई० संस्करण), ५.४१. २-३, **याज्ञ-वल्क्य-स्मृति** (चौखम्भा सं०) (अनु०) डा० उमेश चन्द्र पाण्डेय, १.३४६।

१३. **शान्ति०**, ६९.२२-२३, **मनुस्मृति** (चौखम्भा सं०) (अनु०) हरगोविन्द शास्त्री, ७.१९८,२००; **याज्ञ०**, १.३४६, तथा **कामंदकीय नीतिसार**, १८.१

१४. **इनसाइक्लोपीडिया ब्रिटेनिका रेडी रेफरेंस एण्ड इण्डेक्सेस**, जिल्द ५, पृ० २

१५. **सभापर्व** (बी० ओ० आर० आई० सं०), ६२.३६-३७, ६८.

१६. **उद्योगपर्व** (बी० ओ० आर० आई० सं०), अध्याय, ९३

१७. **शान्ति०**, १.२८.

१८. **उद्योग०**, १३९. १३-१७, १४४. ११-१८.

१९. **शान्ति०**, १.१९-२१, २८.

मौजूद हैं किन्तु उसके सारे गुण अन्याय के पोषक हैं।[20] दुर्योधन तथा उसकी सेना के प्रत्येक योद्धा अद्वितीय पराक्रम, यश, प्रतिष्ठा जैसे गुणों से युक्त हैं। इनमें से कई एक तो वयोवृद्ध तथा धर्म और शस्त्र विद्या के क्षेत्र में आधिकारिक ज्ञान रखने वाले हैं जैसे—भीष्म, द्रोण और कृप। अब तक उन्होंने भी धर्म की रक्षा की और न्याय का पक्ष लिया लेकिन पाण्डवों के झगड़े में वे सब के सब अन्याय के पोषक और अधर्म के रक्षक बन गए।[21]

योद्धा के आदर्श स्वरूप का निर्वाह इस प्रकार एक सीमा तक कौरव भी करते हैं किन्तु पाण्डव उसे पूरी तरह अपनाने और अपने व्यक्तित्व में उतारने का दावा करते हैं। लेकिन न्याय और अन्याय तथा धर्म और अधर्म के द्वैत पर आधारित युद्ध जब यथार्थ बन गया तो पाण्डव भी किस सीमा तक आदर्श योद्धा की मर्यादाओं के अन्दर रह पाए? यथार्थ ने यह प्रदर्शित कर दिया कि पाण्डवों ने भी युद्ध में छल किया, वचन तोड़े और विश्वासघात किया।[22] क्या यह केवल कथनी करनी का भेद है अथवा धर्मस्थापना के केन्द्रीय उद्देश्य को देखते हुए क्षम्य और अनुमोदनीय है? जब युद्ध के यथार्थ में पाण्डव जैसे योद्धा भी अपने मौलिक गुणों का पूरी तरह निर्वाह नहीं कर पाये तो क्या युद्ध को सचमुच नियमों में बाँधा जा सकता है? साधन के रूप में ही सही, क्या उसे मूल्यवर्ग के अन्तर्गत रखा जा सकता है? क्या उद्देश्य की शुद्धता के समक्ष उसे प्राप्त करने वाले साधन की शुद्धता और धार्मिकता अनावश्यक है? क्या युद्ध एक धर्मनिरपेक्ष प्रक्रिया है? यदि युद्ध एक धर्मनिरपेक्ष प्रक्रिया है तो उसे अपने व्यवसाय के रूप में अपनाने वाले को भी क्षात्रधर्म के क्षेत्र से पृथक् एक मूल्यनिरपेक्ष प्राणी मान लेना चाहिए। क्षात्रधर्म जैसी आचरण की किसी विशेष कोटि की बात ही नहीं करना चाहिए। क्या क्षात्रधर्म जैसी कोई चीज संभव है? यदि है, तो उसकी आवश्यकता क्या है?

शान्तिपर्व के अनुसार सर्वथा दण्डविहीन समाज या तो मात्स्यन्याय की स्थिति उत्पन्न करेगा या फिर कृतयुग की।[23] मात्स्यन्याय की स्थिति वह दशा है जिसमें सबल स्वेच्छाचारी होता है और निर्बल का कोई स्वत्व या अधिकार होता ही नहीं। सबल की इच्छा

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२०. इरावती कर्वे, युगान्त, दिल्ली, १९७४, पृ० १२९.

२१. सभा०, ६२.१-२१.

२२. महाभारत युद्ध में जयद्रथ वध, द्रोणवध, भीष्मवध और दुर्योधन वध आदि पाण्डवों के छल के अनेकों प्रमाण हैं।

द्रष्टव्य—द्रोणपर्व अध्याय ७ तथा १२१ और शल्यपर्व अध्याय, ५७; राजबली पाण्डेय, भारतीय नीति का विकास, पटना, १९६५, पृ० ७७; ए० के० मजूमदार, इकनामिक बैकग्राउण्ड आफ इपिक सोसाइटी, कलकत्ता, १९७७, पृ० ३०।

२३. शान्ति०, १५.३०, ५९.१४.

ही न्याय और धर्म होती है।[24] कृतयुग की स्थिति सुनहरे अतीत का वह काल है जब न तो राजा था, न राज्य, न दण्ड था और न दाण्डिक। प्रजा के सारे लोग सहज धर्म-पूर्वक आचरण के द्वारा एक दूसरे की रक्षा करते थे।[25] लेकिन यह सुनहरा अतीत अब बीत चुका है, उसे लौटाया नहीं जा सकता। अतः उपलब्ध विकल्प अब दो ही हैं—मात्स्यन्याय और दण्ड। दण्ड बाहर से लादी गयी कोई शक्ति नहीं है, उसका आधार मानव स्वभाव में वर्तमान धर्म और न्याय की प्रवृत्ति है। वह वस्तुतः धर्म और न्याय की शक्ति का ही बाह्यकरण है।[26] एक वैदिक ग्रंथ का कथन है कि धर्म और सत्य की शक्ति से निर्बल सबल पर शासन करता है।[27] पुराणों में दण्ड को "धर्म का पुत्र" कहा गया है।[28] दण्ड में चूंकि युद्ध समाहित है इसलिए युद्ध आवश्यक है और धर्म से उसका अन्तरंग सम्बन्ध भी है। युद्ध और दण्ड का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाली लौकिक संस्था राज्य है। राज्य ही मर्यादाओं की मर्यादा है क्योंकि वह दण्ड धारण करता है। जिस प्रकार हाथी के पैर में सभी जानवरों के पैर समा जाते हैं, उसी प्रकार राजधर्म में अन्य सभी धर्मों का समावेश हो जाता है।[29] यदि राज्य का आधार धर्म[30] है तो युद्ध का आधार भी धर्म है लेकिन राज्य और युद्ध उसी प्रकार धर्म के भी आधार हैं, क्योंकि मात्स्यन्याय अथवा अराजकता की स्थिति में धर्म नहीं होता और धर्मविहीन राज्य, युद्ध अथवा दण्ड मात्स्यन्याय का कारण बनता है।[31] अतः युद्ध और धर्म अन्योन्याश्रित हैं[32] लेकिन उसी सीमा तक

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२४. अर्थ०, १.४. १३-१४; मनु० ७.२०; शान्ति०, १५.३०.

२५. शान्ति०, ५९.१४.

२६. ओम प्रकाश, **पोलिटिकल आइडियाज़ इन द पुराणज़**, इलाहाबाद, १९७७, पृ० ८९.

२७. **बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्**, १.४.१४.

२८. **विष्णुपुराण**, १.७.२०, मनु०. ७.१४.

२९. शान्ति०, ६३.२५.

३०. धर्म का अतिक्रमण करने के कारण ही नहुष को दैवी राज्य से हाथ धोकर अजगर बनना पड़ा। (महाभारत, ५.१५. २४, १३.१०२.२६)।

द्रष्टव्य ई० डब्लू० हॉपकिन्स, **एपिक माइथालोजी**, न्यूयार्क, १९६९, पृ० १३० आल्फ हिल्टबीटल, "नहुष इन द स्काइज़ : ए ह्यूमन किंग आफ हैवेन," **हिस्ट्री आफ रिलिजन**, जिल्द १६, सं० ४, १९७७, पृ० ३३६.

नहुष की भाँति अपने अविनय के कारण राज्य भ्रंश भोगने वाले कितने ही अन्य राजाओं के नाम मनु ने गिनाये हैं।—मनु०, ७.४१.

३१. ओम प्रकाश, पृ० ४२-४३.

३२. विलियम जे० मेयर, **पोलिटिकल एथिक्स एण्ड पोलिटिकल अथार्टी**, "**इथिक्स**", जिल्द ८६, १९७५. पृ० ६२.

युद्ध और मात्स्यन्याय भी अन्योन्याश्रित हैं यदि युद्ध धर्म की मर्यादाओं का अतिक्रमण कर अधर्म की सीमा में पहुँच जाता है। युद्ध का मूल्यांकन इस प्रकार केवल धर्म की कसौटी पर ही हो सकता है।[33] धर्म साध्य है और युद्ध साधन। दूसरे शब्दों में युद्ध द्वारा उपलब्ध साध्य का स्वरूप ही अपनी धार्मिकता अथवा अधार्मिकता के अनुरूप युद्ध की धार्मिकता अथवा अधार्मिकता का निर्णय करेगा। युद्ध के अपने कार्य-व्यापारों की धार्मिकता अथवा अधार्मिकता गौण हो जाती है और साध्य की धार्मिकता अथवा अधार्मिकता के अन्तिम आधार पर ही मूल्यांकित की जा सकती है।[34] युद्ध और धर्म इस प्रकार न तो परस्पर निरपेक्ष हैं और न युद्ध धार्मिकता की सीमा से परे ही है। इसलिए प्राचीन भारतीय वर्ण-व्यवस्था के अनुसार युद्ध कार्य को अपना व्यवसाय बनाने वाला योद्धाओं का सामाजिक वर्ग भी न तो धर्म निरपेक्ष हो सकता है और न धर्म से ऊपर ही। क्षात्रधर्म एक सम्भव ही नहीं, अपितु आवश्यक परिकल्पना है। इसके बिना व्यवस्थित समाज मात्स्यन्याय की अराजकता में बदल जायेगा।

क्षात्रधर्म का प्रमुख उद्देश्य अन्याय का प्रतिकार कर समाज में धर्म और न्याय की स्थापना के लिए संघर्ष करना है। युद्ध इस उद्देश्य को प्राप्त करने की दिशा में एक साधन है जिसे अन्तिम साधन के रूप में ही प्रयोग करने की अनुमति दी गयी है।[35] प्राचीन भारतीय वर्ण-व्यवस्था ने समाज के एक विशिष्ट वर्ग (क्षत्रिय) को ही प्रजा-पालन और प्रजा-रक्षण का दायित्व सौंप दिया था[36] इसलिए क्षात्रधर्म राजधर्म का अभिन्न अंग बन गया। दंडनीति राजधर्म के चार साधनों-साम, दान, भेद और दण्ड-में अन्तिम किन्तु सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण साधन है क्योंकि जिन झगड़ों का निपटारा प्रथम तीन साधन नहीं

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३३. मैकियावेली जैसे मूल्यनिरपेक्ष विचारक ने भी "प्रिंस" में राजा को परम्परागत रिवाजों (धर्मों) का अतिक्रमण न करने की सलाह दी है और अपने को आकस्मिक परिस्थितियों तक ही सीमित रखने को कहा है। (**द प्रिंस एण्ड द डिसकोर्सेस**, (सं०) मैक्स लर्नर, न्यूयार्क, पृ० ५).

३४. कौटिल्य जैसे विचारक (जिसे कुछ विद्वान् मूल्यनिरपेक्ष भारतीय विचारक मानते हैं) के सन्दर्भ में प्रो० जे० एस० नेगी का कथन है कि मैकियावेली की स्थिति कौटिल्य के लिए अर्थहीन बन जाती है क्योंकि कौटिल्य में साधन को साध्य से पूरी तरह अलग नहीं किया जा सकता।

द्रष्टव्य, जे० एस० नेगी, **सम इण्डोलाजिकल स्टडीज**, जिल्द-१, इलाहाबाद, १९६६, पृ० ३२.

३५. शान्ति०, ६९.२२-२३; मनु० ७,१९८,२००; याज्ञ० १.३४६; कामन्दक०, १८.१

३६. शान्ति०, २३.१०.

कर पाते उन्हें दण्ड ही निपटाता है।[37] "दण्ड" का अर्थ है अपने देश में अपराधी को फांसी देना, शारीरिक दण्ड या अर्थदण्ड देना तथा शत्रुओं से युद्ध करना, शत्रुओं का नाश करना; धन-धान्य, पशु, दुर्ग आदि पर अधिकार कर लेना ; ग्रामों और जंगलों को जलाना तथा लोगों को बन्दी बना लेना।[38] दण्ड राजधर्म का एक प्रमुख साधन है जिसकी सहायता से राजा समाज में धर्म और न्याय की स्थापना करता है। दण्ड के भय से सभी वर्णों और आश्रमों के लोग अपने-अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन करते हैं।[39] दण्ड के भय से सभी स्थावर और जंगम प्राणी अपना-अपना भोग भोगने के लिए प्रस्तुत रहते हैं।[40] दण्ड ही समाज में मर्यादा की स्थापना करता है।[41] वही सभी प्रजाओं पर शासन करता है। सबके सो जाने पर दण्ड ही जागता रहता है।[42] दण्ड का समुचित प्रयोग "त्रिवर्ग" की रक्षा और वृद्धि करता है।[43] दण्ड के अभाव अथवा अनुचित प्रयोग से समाज में मर्यादाएँ छिन्न-भिन्न हो जाती हैं[44] तथा मात्स्यन्याय का प्रभुत्व हो जाता है। दण्ड इन सबका दमन करता है। दमन करने के कारण ही यह दण्ड कहलाता है।[45] दण्ड क्षत्रिय की शोभा होती है। दण्ड से रहित क्षत्रिय राजा पृथ्वी का उपभोग नहीं कर सकता और उसकी प्रजाओं को सुख नहीं मिलता।[46] दुष्टों को दण्ड देना, सज्जनों की रक्षा करना, युद्ध में कभी पीठ न दिखाना ये राजाओं के परमधर्म हैं।[47] जिसमें समयानुसार क्षमा और क्रोध दोनों प्रकट होते हैं, जो दान देता और कर लेता है, जिसमें शत्रुओं को भयभीत करने और शरणागतों को अभय प्रदान करने की शक्ति है, जो दुष्टों को दण्ड देता और दीनों पर अनुग्रह करता है वही धर्मज्ञ कहलाता है।[48] सैनिक शक्ति से सम्पन्न राजा दूसरे लोगों को धर्मविषयक परमगति की प्राप्ति कराता है इसलिए राजधर्म ही

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३७. शान्ति०, ६९, २२-२३, मनु० ७.१९८,२००, याज्ञ०, १.३४६; शुक्र० ४.२१९.

३८. काणे, **हिस्ट्री ऑफ धर्मशास्त्र** (हि० अनु० अर्जुन काश्यप चौबे)—द्वितीय भाग, लखनऊ, १९७३, पृ० ६६१.

३९. शान्ति०, १५.१२, अर्थ०, १.४.१६.

४०. मनु० ७.१५.

४१. शान्ति०, १५.३३,३४; मनु० ७.२२.

४२. शान्ति०, १५.२, मनु० ७.१८.

४३. शान्ति०. १५.३; अर्थ०, १.४.११; काम०, २.३८.

४४. शान्ति०, १५.३३, मनु० ७.२४.

४५. शान्ति०, १५.९, काम०, २.१५.

४६. शान्ति०, १४.१४.

४७. वही, १४.१६.

४८. वही, १४.१७.

सबसे श्रेष्ठ है और अन्य सभी धर्म उसके आधीन हैं। राजा से अपनी रक्षा का वचन पाकर ही सभी वर्णों के लोग अपने-अपने धर्मों का पालन करते हैं इसलिए क्षात्रधर्म में अन्य सभी धर्मों का समावेश हो जाता है।[49] चारों आश्रमों के धर्म, यतिधर्म और लौकिक तथा वैदिक सभी उत्कृष्ट धर्म क्षात्रधर्म में प्रतिष्ठित हैं।[50] युद्ध क्षत्रियों के लिए प्रधान मार्ग है। उनके लिए दस्युओं के संहार से बढ़कर दूसरा कोई श्रेष्ठतम कार्य नहीं है।[51] राज्य-विस्तार के लिए युद्ध की सर्वत्र प्रशंसा की गयी है। राज्य-विस्तार के लिए युद्ध करना क्षात्रधर्म का एक प्रमुख उद्देश्य माना गया है। अप्राप्त को प्राप्त करना, प्राप्त की रक्षा, रक्षित की वृद्धि और वृद्ध का सुपात्र में निक्षेप-यह दण्ड नीति का प्रमुख उद्देश्य माना गया।[52] राज्य-विस्तार की इच्छा से लड़े जाने वाले इस युद्ध में मृत्यु की चिन्ता किए बिना युद्धरत रहना चाहिए क्योंकि युद्ध में मृत्यु को प्राप्त योद्धा महान् तपस्वियों के लोकों में जाते हैं।[53] ऐसे योद्धाओं की मृत्यु शोचनीय नहीं होती। युद्धभूमि में क्षत्रियों की मृत्यु सदा प्रशंसनीय रही है। उसके लिए घर में मृत्यु अधर्म तुल्य थी।[54] क्षत्रिय के लिए युद्ध से पलायन करना एक अक्षम्य अपराध माना गया है। युद्धभूमि से पलायन करने वाला क्षत्रिय अपने राष्ट्र भर के पापों को भोगता है।[55] उसके द्वारा अर्जित पुण्यों का लाभ स्वामी प्राप्त कर लेता है।[56]

शान्तिपर्व में युधिष्ठिर के कथोपकथन के माध्यम से क्षात्रधर्म अथवा योद्धा धर्म के औचित्य में **महाभारत** युद्ध के यथार्थ द्वारा उत्पन्न किए गए संदेह को व्यक्त किया गया है। क्षात्रधर्म के औचित्य के विरुद्ध युधिष्ठिर द्वारा दिए गए अनेक तर्कों में एक तर्क यह भी है कि क्षात्रधर्म के अनुयायी स्वार्थसिद्धि की भावना से प्रेरित होकर वह जघन्य कर्म करते हैं जो बड़े से बड़े सुख के लिए भी किसी को नहीं करना चाहिए। युधिष्ठिर कहते हैं कि "यदि हम लोग वृष्णियों और अन्धकों के नगर में भिक्षा मांगकर भी अपना निर्वाह करते और अपने ज्ञातियों का वध न करते तो हम इस दुर्गति को कभी न प्राप्त होते। यह सत्य है कि कौरव हमारे शत्रु थे, समृद्धिशाली थे और अर्थवान् थे किन्तु स्वयं अपने आप (सगे सम्बन्धियों) को मारकर हमने किस धर्म का फल प्राप्त कर लिया ?

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४९. वही, ६४.२०-२१.
५०. वही, ६४.३१.
५१. वही, ६०.१७.
५२. अर्थ०, १.४.३; मनु०, ७.९९,१०१; याज्ञ०, १.३१७, काम०,, १.१८, १३.५७.
५३. याज्ञ०, १.३२४.
५४. शान्ति०, ९८.२३,२५; शुक्र०, ४.३०४.
५५. शुक्र०, ४.३२८.
५६. मनु०, ७.९४-९५.

उस क्षात्रधर्म को धिक्कार है, उस बाहुबल को धिक्कार है और उस क्रोध को धिक्कार है जिसके कारण हम इस आपत्ति को प्राप्त हुए हैं। इसके विपरीत जंगल में नित्य निवास करने वालों के क्षमा, संयम, शौच, अवैरोध्य, अमत्सर, अहिंसा और सत्य वचन जैसे गुण इनकी अपेक्षा अधिक ऊंचे और कल्याणकारी हैं। हम लोग इस अवस्था को लोभ, मोह और मान की स्पृहा के कारण तथा राज्य सुख की बुभुक्षा के कारण प्राप्त हुए हैं। अपने बन्धु-बान्धवों की हत्या करने वाले तथा पृथ्वी के उपभोग के लिए लालायित हम लोगों को कोई तीनों लोकों के राज्य द्वारा भी प्रसन्न नहीं कर सकता।[57] युधिष्ठिर के इस कथन से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि अपने कर्मों पर किए गए पुनर्विचार से वे इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे कि क्षात्रधर्म निभाने के प्रयास में उन्होंने जो कुछ भी किया उसके मूल में राज्य प्राप्त करने तथा भौतिक सुखों के उपभोग की स्पृहा ही थी यद्यपि उसके ऊपर क्षात्रधर्म का आवरण चढ़ा हुआ था। क्षात्रधर्म इस प्रकार योद्धाओं के स्वार्थ साधन का एक उपाय है जिसे धर्म का नाम देना भी शायद **महाभारत** युद्ध के यथार्थ के सन्दर्भ में उचित नहीं रह गया था। युधिष्ठिर के विचार में वे लोग स्वार्थ के कारण इतने अंधे हो गए थे कि उन्हें बन्धु-बांधवों के वध जैसा जघन्य कार्य भी धर्म मालूम होने लगा था। युधिष्ठिर की इस शंका का समाधान करते हुए अर्जुन ने क्षात्र-धर्म के औचित्य को फिर से प्रतिष्ठित करने की चेष्टा की है। अर्जुन अपने तर्क में "अर्थ" की प्रधानता पर बल देते हैं और यह कहते हैं कि "अर्थ" से ही धर्म, काम और स्वर्ग की सिद्धि होती है। इस संसार की प्राण यात्रा भी "अर्थ" के विना नहीं चल सकती।[58] "अर्थ से रहित पुरुष की सारी क्रियायें उसी प्रकार समाप्त हो जाती हैं जिस प्रकार गर्मी में छोटी नदियों का अस्तित्व विलीन हो जाता है।[59] धनहीन तथा अर्थ-प्राप्ति की कामना से रहित व्यक्ति में विजय की इच्छा भी नहीं हो सकती क्योंकि "अर्थ" के उपार्जन के लिए

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५७. शान्ति०, ७.३-८.

५८. वही, ८.१७.

अर्जुन की "अर्थ" सम्बन्धी विचारधारा प्रसिद्ध अर्थशास्त्री एल्फ्रेड मार्शल की विचारधारा से मेल खाती है जिसके अनुसार "अर्थ" के विना मनुष्य का जीवन असंभव-सा हो जाता है। यद्यपि धर्म का महत्त्व अर्थ से किसी भी प्रकार कम नहीं है तथापि जहाँ धर्म का अभाव किसी सीधी प्रतिक्रिया को जन्म नहीं देता वहाँ "अर्थ" के अभाव की प्रतिक्रिया स्पष्ट और कष्टकारक होती है। धर्म का अतिक्रमण हो जाने पर प्रायश्चित के द्वारा उसका सुधार हो सकता है किन्तु "अर्थ" के अभाव में मनुष्य की जीवन-यात्रा ही अवरुद्ध होने लगती है।

द्रष्टव्य ए० मार्शल, **एलीमेन्ट्स ऑफ इकनामिक्स**, जिल्द-१, लंदन, १९३२, पृ० १-२ ; ए० के० मजूमदार, **वही**, कलकत्ता, १९७७, पृ० ४०.

५९. शान्ति०, ८.१८.

"अर्थ" उसी प्रकार आवश्यक है जिस प्रकार बड़े हाथी को पकड़ने के लिए हाथियों की जरूरत होती है।[60] अर्थ प्राप्ति के लिए ही अपने धर्म का पालन करते हुए अतिमानवीय प्रयासों द्वारा हमने शत्रुओं को मारकर पृथ्वी प्राप्त की, विजयश्री प्राप्त की। क्या इस लाभ को बुद्धिभ्रम के कारण यों ही छोड देना चाहिए ? राज्य नंपुसक के लिए नहीं होता, दीर्घसूत्री के लिए नहीं होता।[61] क्रोध के आवेग में क्या हमने राजाओं का बध अकारण ही बिना किसी लक्ष्य के कर दिया है ?" जहां तक ज्ञातिवध का प्रश्न है, देवासुर संग्राम पर यदि दृष्टि डाली जाय तो यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि ज्ञातिवध से कम किसी चीज से देवता भी समृद्धिशाली नहीं होते।[62] (तो मनुष्यों का कहना ही क्या ?) यदि किसी दूसरे का कुछ अपहरण नहीं करना है तो धर्म का प्रारम्भ ही कैसे हो सकता है। (अर्थात् धर्म साधन के लिए आवश्यक साधन आयेंगे कहाँ से) ? वेदों तथा विद्वानों का यही निश्चित मत है कि त्रयी विद्या का अध्ययन करना चाहिए, विद्वान् बनना चाहिए, किन्तु प्रयत्नपूर्वक सब प्रकार से धन भी प्राप्त करना चाहिए और धन प्राप्त कर यज्ञ करना चाहिए[63]। "द्रोह से ही देवताओं ने स्वर्ग में स्थान प्राप्त किया है।[64] दिलीप, नृग, नहुष, अम्बरीष, मान्धाता की तरह यह पृथ्वी आपको वीरतापूर्ण कार्यों द्वारा प्राप्त हुई है और यदि इस पर भी आप द्रव्यमय यज्ञ के द्वारा देवताओं को संतुष्ट नहीं करते तो आपको दैवी पाप लगेगा। राजा लोग यदि अश्वमेध यज्ञ से देवताओं को प्रसन्न करते हैं तो उसके समाप्ति-स्नान के द्वारा वे सब पवित्र हो जाते हैं।"[65]

युधिष्ठिर और अर्जुन के संवाद से दो परस्पर विरोधी दृष्टियों का परिचय प्राप्त होता है। अर्जुन की दृष्टि विशुद्ध वैदिक दृष्टि है जो "अर्थ" को सभी पुरुषार्थों का स्रोत मानती है। उसके लिए अर्थ का चरम लक्ष्य यज्ञ है।[66] यज्ञ से देवता प्रसन्न होते हैं और स्वर्ग की प्राप्ति होती है। यज्ञ से समस्त पापों का उपशमन होता है।[67] अर्थ चूंकि सभी

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६०. वही, ८.२०.

६१. वही, ८. ४-५.

६२. वही, ८.२५, २८.

६३. वही, ८.२६-२७.

६४. वही, ८.२८.

६५. वही, ८. ३३-३५.

६६. वही, २०.१०.

६७. गीता, ३. ९-१४, गोविन्द चन्द्र पाण्डेय, **स्टडीज इन द ओरिजिन ऑफ बुद्धिज्म**, इलाहाबाद, १९५७, पृ० २७७, ई० डब्लू० हापकिन्स, **द रिलिजन्स ऑफ इण्डिया**, दिल्ली, १९७०, पृ०, १८८, १९१, ए० ए० मैकडानल, **वेदिक माइथोलॉजी** दिल्ली, १९७४, पृ० १६४.

पुरुषार्थों का मूल है अतः अर्थ किसी भी तरह प्राप्त किया जा सकता है।[68] अर्थप्राप्ति के लिए दूसरे के अर्थ का अपहरण आवश्यक है किन्तु यह अपहरण स्वधर्म के पालन के साथ होना चाहिए। अपहरण की प्रक्रिया में यदि ज्ञातिवध होता है तो कोई पाप नहीं क्योंकि देवताओं की श्री भी ज्ञातिवध द्वारा ही प्राप्त हुई थी।[69] युधिष्ठिर की दृष्टि के मूल में भिक्षु-प्रवृत्ति के दर्शन होते हैं। उसके अनुसार मानव-पुरुषार्थों का आधार सच्चरित्रता तथा तपस्या है।[70] सच्चरित्रता के साथ जिस सीमा तक वीरता का निर्वाह हो सकता है, उस सीमा तक की वीरता अच्छी है और उस सीमा तक की वीरता से प्राप्त अर्थलाभ भी अच्छा है लेकिन यदि अर्थसाधन के लिए वीरता को आवश्यक तथा मौलिक मानकर उसके लिए सच्चरित्रता का बलिदान किया जाता है तो उसका अनुमोदन नहीं किया जा सकता क्योंकि उससे व्यक्ति को "सर्वस्व-लाभ" का बोध नहीं होता। जीवन में कुछ चीजें ऐसी हैं जिन्हें अर्थलाभ से भी बड़ा ठहराया जा सकता है।[71] जैसे बड़े से बड़े अर्थलाभ के लिए भी ज्ञातिवध युधिष्ठिर की राय में उचित नहीं है। ज्ञातिवध से होने वाली मानसिक अशान्ति को राज्य लाभ या अर्थलाभ दूर नहीं कर सकता।[72] उसके लिए संन्यास और अपरिग्रह का जीवन बिताते हुए आत्मदर्शन का लाभ आवश्यक है। आत्मसंतोष ही सबसे बड़ा संतोष है, वही शाश्वत है और वही नित्य है।[73] अर्जुन के संवाद में निहित वैदिक दृष्टि इसे कायरता मानती है।[74] शान्तिपर्व में युधिष्ठिर की दृष्टि का खंडन कर अर्जुन की वैदिक दृष्टि की स्थापना की गयी है और उसके आधार पर यह दिखाने की चेष्टा की गयी है कि अर्थसाधन स्वार्थसाधन नहीं है क्योंकि इससे किसी का व्यक्तिगत अभ्युदय ही नहीं होता बल्कि उसके साथ धर्म और न्याय की व्यवस्था का भी अभ्युदय होता है। लोक में धर्म और न्याय की स्थापना स्पष्टतः पलायन से नहीं हो सकती। उसके लिए वीरता का आधार जरूरी है। न्याय और धर्म की स्थापना के लिए ज्ञातिवध का दोष भी क्षम्य है और इसलिए क्षात्रधर्म निन्दनीय नहीं है।[75] पाण्डवों के चरित्र की भर्त्सना

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६८. मनु अपूर्ण यज्ञ की पूर्ति के लिए वैश्य तथा शूद्र के धन को चोरी या बलात्कार से भी प्राप्त करने को उचित ठहराते हैं। मनु०, ११.११-१५.

६९. शान्ति०, ८.२५, २८.

७०. पाण्डेय, स्टडीज इन द ओरिजिन ऑफ बुद्धिज्म, पृ० २६०.

७१. कठोपनिषद्, १.२१.

७२. इरावती कर्वे, वही, पृ० ६६.

७३. शान्ति०, अध्याय ७, ९ तथा १७.

७४. भिक्षु दृष्टि के अनुसार ज्ञातिवध को दोषपूर्ण मानने के निर्णय को गीता में भी नपुंसकता माना गया है। गीता, २.२-३.

७५. बी० पी० सिनहा, आर्ट आफ वार इन एन्शिएन्ट इण्डिया, "स्टडीज इन द कल्चरल हिस्ट्री ऑफ इण्डिया," आगरा, १९६५, पृ० ११७.

नहीं की जा सकती। महाभारत युद्ध के यथार्थ को धर्म-विपर्यय नहीं कहा जा सकता।

क्षात्रधर्म न्याय और धर्म की स्थापना के लिए तो आवश्यक है ही, साथ ही वह लोक-रंजन के लिए भी आवश्यक है। युधिष्ठिर का निष्क्रियतावादी संन्यास यद्यपि व्यक्ति को उच्चतम नैतिक आदर्श तक पहुंचाने में सक्षम है लेकिन उस से केवल व्यक्ति का कल्याण हो सकता है और वह भी केवल उस व्यक्ति का जो उस मार्ग पर स्वेच्छा से तत्परतापूर्वक चलना चाहे।[76] न तो सभी को अपरिग्रह के मार्ग पर चलने के लिए बाध्य किया जा सकता है (किया भी जाय तो किस शक्ति से ?) और न केवल कुछ व्यक्तियों के उच्चतम नैतिक आचरण से दुष्टनिग्रह तथा अन्याय के दमन की समस्यायें ही हल की जा सकती हैं। अतः युधिष्ठिर के सब कुछ छोड़कर भिक्षु बन जाने से उन्हें अपनी अवधारणा की व्यक्तिगत शान्ति भले ही मिल जाती लेकिन लोकरंजन और लोक-व्यवस्था की समस्यायें तो बिल्कुल ही हल नहीं हो सकती थीं। अपनी धारणा में जीवन का सर्वस्व पा कर शान्तिभोग करते हुए भिक्षु युधिष्ठिर दूसरों की दृष्टि में मूर्ख भी लग सकते थे[77] क्योंकि काल्पनिक सुख और शान्ति के लिए वे ज्ञातिवध तक की कीमत पर जीते गए राज्य सुख और वैभव की अवहेलना करके सत्ता-परिवर्तन द्वारा लादे गए उत्तरदायित्वों से भागते हुए प्रतीत होते। राज्य-सुख और वैभव इस प्रकार योद्धा के स्वार्थ की संकुचित सीमाओं में बँधी हुई उपलब्धियां मात्र नहीं है; इनके साथ ही प्रजापालन और लोकरंजन का वह दायित्व भी जुड़ा हुआ है जिससे वह भाग नहीं सकता।[78] इन दायित्वों का निर्वाह किये बिना यदि वह राजसुख और वैभव का उपभोग करता है तो क्षात्रधर्म से च्युत होता है। अपरिग्रह, संन्यास या आत्मशान्ति के नाम पर यदि वह इन तथाकथित स्वार्थपूर्ण उपलब्धियों और दायित्वों दोनों का त्याग करता है, जैसा कि युधिष्ठिर करना चाहते हैं, तो उसे यह बताना होगा कि इतना बड़ा उद्देश्यविहीन रक्तपातपूर्ण युद्ध और हिंसात्मक परिवर्तन उसने किया क्यों ?[79] युद्ध और सत्ता-परिवर्तन के पूर्व ही उसे उसके औचित्य पर विचार कर लेना चाहिए था। एक बार युद्ध और परिवर्तन के औचित्य में विश्वास करके उसे कर गुजरने पर उसकी जिम्मेदारियों से आत्मशान्ति, निःस्वार्थता और अपरिग्रह के नाम पर भागा नहीं जा सकता। भागनेवाला अपने पलायन को बड़े से बड़े आदर्श के रूप में प्रस्तुत कर सकता

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७६. रिचर्ड फिक की धारणा में बौद्धधर्म के पलायनवादी दृष्टिकोण के कारण भारतीय समाज का स्वरूप उसकी लोकप्रियता के बावजूद बिल्कुल नहीं बदल पाया।

रिचर्ड फिक, द सोशल आर्गनाइजेशन इन द नार्थ ईस्टर्न इण्डिया, कलकत्ता, १९२०, पृ० ३०-३१.

७७. शान्ति०, ८.४.७.

७८. अर्थ०, १.१९.

७९. शान्ति०, १०.२.

है किन्तु देखनेवालों की दृष्टि में वह कायरता और नपुंसकता से अधिक कुछ भी नहीं है। जिसे युधिष्ठिर पृथ्वी और राज्य सुखों के उपभोग की अदम्य लिप्सा के रूप में चित्रित करना चाहते हैं, शान्तिपर्व का अभीष्ट मत उसे ही अन्याय को दूर करने की हिंसात्मक प्रक्रिया के उपरान्त लोक-व्यवस्था और लोकरंजन के दायित्वों को पूरी तरह निभाने की योद्धाओं की उत्कट कर्तव्यनिष्ठा के रूप में स्थापित करता है।

स्वार्थ-साधन नहीं, बल्कि लोकरंजन इस प्रकार क्षात्रधर्म का एक प्रमुख लक्ष्य है। लोकरंजन ही राजाओं के लिए सनातन धर्म है[80] जिसका पालन करने के लिए वे युद्ध करते हैं। बलवानों से दुर्बल की रक्षा करने के लिए ही ब्रह्मा ने "बल" अर्थात् दण्ड की सृष्टि की है और यह दण्ड राजा में प्रतिष्ठित रहता है[81] अतः दण्ड की सहायता से हर तरह की आपत्तियों से प्रजा की रक्षा करना और उसे कल्याण के मार्ग पर आगे बढ़ाना राजा का प्रधान कर्तव्य है। शान्तिपर्व में "राजा" शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति "रञ्ज्" (प्रसन्न करना) धातु से मानते हुए "प्रजा का रंजन करने वाले को राजा" कहा गया है।[82] राजा शब्द की दूसरी परिभाषा देते हुए शान्तिपर्व फिर कहता है कि "जिसमें धर्म विराज रहा है वही राजा है"[83] इन दोनों परिभाषाओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए सामान्यरूप से कहा जा सकता है कि धर्मपूर्वक अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन करते हुए प्रजा को सुखी और संतुष्ट रखने वाला ही राजा है। राजा की यह परिभाषा ही उसकी लोकरंजक प्रवृत्ति का परिचायक है[84]। प्रजापालन और प्रजारक्षण राजा के प्रमुख कर्तव्य माने गए हैं। प्रजारक्षण के लिए युद्ध करना आवश्यक था जिसमें मृत्यु भी संभव थी अतः प्राचीन धर्मशास्त्रियों ने क्षत्रिय का प्रधान कर्त्तव्य युद्ध करना और सबसे बड़ा आदर्श समरांगण में मर जाना माना है। "क्षत्रिय" शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति "क्षत्" तथा "त्रै" धातुओं से बताते हुए शान्तिपर्व[85] उसकी व्याख्या उस व्यक्ति के रूप में करता है "जो नाश या व्रण से रक्षा करता है।"[86] इस प्रकार प्रजारक्षण का दायित्व क्षत्रिय की परिभाषा से ही अंकुरित होता है। प्रजारक्षण के इस महान कर्तव्य का पालन करने में क्षत्रिय को अपने प्राणों की भी चिन्ता नहीं करनी चाहिए। प्रजारक्षण के लिए युद्ध करते-करते मर जाना राजाओं के लिए महान धर्म है[87]

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८०. वही, ५७.११.
८१. वही, ९२.११; मनु०, ७.१७.
८२. शान्ति, ५९.१२७.
८३. वही, ९१.१२.
८४. काणे, हि० आफ धर्म० (हि० अनु०), भाग २, पृ० ७०२.
८५. शान्ति०, ५९.१२८.
८६. काणे, हि० आफ धर्म० (हि० अनु०), भाग २, पृ० ५९०.
८७. शान्ति, ५८,२३,

और ऐसे राजा मृत्यु के बाद स्वर्ग के सुखों का उपभोग करते हैं।[88] सैनिकों को भी युद्ध करते-करते मर जाने पर स्वर्ग प्राप्ति होती है। युद्ध भूमि से पलायन करने वाला योद्धा अपने स्वामी के भी पापों का फल भोगता है और उसके द्वारा उपार्जित पुण्यों का लाभ स्वामी प्राप्त कर लेता है।[89] राज्य राजा की व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति नहीं है, वह राजा के हाथों प्रजा की धरोहर है। राजा उसका स्वामी नहीं, बल्कि प्रजा की रक्षा और उसके कल्याण के लिए राज्य को यथोचित ढंग से संचालित करने वाला सेवक मात्र है।[90] अतः प्रजा की हर तरह की आपत्तियों से रक्षा कर उसे कल्याण के मार्ग पर ले जाना राजा का प्रधान कर्तव्य है। राजा का शरीर आमोद-प्रमोद के लिए नहीं बना है बल्कि वह कर्तव्य-पालन और पृथ्वी की रक्षा के लिए कष्ट सहने के उद्देश्य से बना है।[91] राजा की व्यक्तिगत इच्छा प्रजा की इच्छा के सामने कोई महत्व नहीं रखती। राज्य को लोककल्याणकारी घोषित करते हुए कौटिल्य ने स्पष्ट कहा है "प्रजा के सुख में राजा का सुख है, प्रजा के हित में राजा का हित है। अपना कल्याण राजा के लिए हितकारी नहीं होता बल्कि प्रजा का कल्याण उसकें लिए अधिक हितकारी होता है।"[92] जो राजा अपनी प्रजा की भरपूर रक्षा करता है, वह सम्पूर्ण धर्मों का ज्ञाता है। उसे किसी अन्य धर्म का पालन करने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। उसे न तप करने की आवश्यकता है, न यज्ञ करने की।[93] उसके लिए संग्राम में जूझना ही यज्ञ की दीक्षा, राज्य की रक्षा में दण्डनीति का सम्यक् पालन ही योग और यज्ञ में दक्षिणा के रूप में धन का त्याग तथा उत्तम रीति से दान करना ही त्याग है।[94] प्रजा की रक्षा न करने से बढ़कर राजा के लिए कुछ भी पाप नहीं है।[95] जो राजा कर लेकर भी प्रजा की रक्षा नहीं करता वह शीघ्र ही नष्ट हो जाता है।[96] राजा के प्रमाद-दोष से लुटेरे प्रबल होकर प्रजा को सताते हैं, ऐसी स्थिति में यदि राजा ने प्रजा को शरण नहीं दी तो वह राजा "मूर्तिमान् कलियुग" कहा जाता है।[97] राजा द्वारा अरक्षित प्रजा जो कुछ भी पाप करती है उसका आधा फल राजा को भोगना

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८८. मनु०, ७.८९; याज्ञ०, १.३२४.

८९. मनु०, ७.९४-९५.

९०. अर्थ०, १०.१३, १.६; काणे, हि० आफ धर्व, भाग ३, पृ० २७.

९१. राज्ञां शरीरग्रहणं न भोगाय महीपते।
क्लेशाय महते पृथ्वी स्वधर्मपरिपालने॥ म० पुराण १३०, ३३-३४.

९२. अर्थ०, १.१९.

९३. शान्ति०, ६९.७१.

९४. वही, २६.३२.

९५. वही, ५७.६०.

९६. मनु०, ७.१११; याज्ञ०, १.३४०.

९७. शान्ति०, १२.२७.

पड़ता है क्योंकि राजा रक्षा करने के लिए ही प्रजा से कर लेता है।[98] जो राजा रक्षा करने के योग्य पुरुषों की रक्षा करता है, वही राजा राजाओं में शिरोमणि है, जो राजा रक्षणीय पुरुषों की रक्षा नहीं कर सकता, उसकी जगत् में कोई आवश्यकता नहीं।[99] ऐसा राजा मृतक तुल्य माना गया है।[100] वह शीघ्र ही नष्ट हो जाता है क्योंकि प्रजा-पीड़न के संताप की अग्नि उसके कुल शोभा तथा प्राणों को नष्ट किये बिना नहीं शान्त होती।[101]

क्षात्रधर्म की यह अवधारणा योद्धाओं को एक विशिष्ट कोटि का व्यक्ति बना देती है। उनके आचरण का मूल्यांकन उन मूल्यों के आधार पर नहीं किया जा सकता जिनके आधार पर जनसामान्य के चरित्र को आँका जाता है। जनसाधारण के द्वारा पालनीय नैतिक गुणों का समावेश सामान्य धर्म के अन्तर्गत किया गया है। यह सामान्य धर्म मानव मात्र का धर्म है और प्रत्येक व्यक्ति पर लागू होता है। मनुष्य होने के नाते वह योद्धा पर भी लागू होता है, ब्राह्मण पर भी, वैश्य पर भी तथा शूद्र पर भी।[102] मनुष्य होने के साथ-साथ चूंकि ये व्यक्ति विभिन्न सामाजिक वर्णों के भी सदस्य हैं इसलिये वर्णगत धर्म इनका विशिष्ट धर्म है जिसे वर्ण धर्म कहा जाता है।[103] राजा और योद्धा के वर्ण धर्म के अतिरिक्त कुछ और धर्म होते हैं जिन्हें क्रमशः राजधर्म और क्षात्रधर्म की संज्ञा दी जाती है। ये धर्म दायित्व विशेष से सम्बन्धित होने के कारण "गुणधर्म" कहे जाते हैं।[104] इनमें से क्षात्रधर्म की कुछ बातें सामान्य धर्म के विरुद्ध जाती हैं, जैसे योद्धा के वीरता-पूर्वक युद्ध करने का कर्तव्य सामान्य धर्म की अहिंसा के विपरीत जाता है। सत्य वचन, दया आदि इसी प्रकार युद्ध में अपनाये गये छल-छद्म तथा क्रूरता का विपर्यय उपस्थित करते हैं। स्पष्ट है कि योद्धा एक साथ ही दोनों धर्मों का निर्वाह नहीं कर सकता। उसे या तो एक से च्युत होना पड़ेगा या दूसरे से। सामान्य धर्म से च्युत होकर क्या वह

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९८. याज्ञ०, १.३३६.

९९. शान्ति०, ९०.१०.

१००. मनु०, ७.१४३.

१०१. याज्ञ०, १.३४१.

१०२. राजवली पाण्डेय, **भारतीय नीति का विकास**, पृष्ठ ८; राणा रंजीत सिंह, **धर्म की हिन्दू अवधारणा**, इला०, १९७७, पृ० ६२, ६३.

१०३. काणे, **वही**, जिल्द १. भाग १, पूना, १९६८, पृ० ४. राजवली पाण्डेय, **वही**, पृ० ९.

१०४. के० वी० आर० आयंगर, **कृत्यकल्पतरु का राजधर्म काण्ड**, बड़ौदा, १९४३ भूमिका, पृ० ३.

मानवता के स्तर से भी गिर जाता है[105] अथवा उसका चरित्र अतिमानवीय होने के कारण सामान्य धर्म के अन्तर्गत आता ही नहीं ?[106]

शान्तिपर्व के अभीष्ट मत को न तो व्यक्ति की नैसर्गिक अच्छाई में कोई संदेह है और न उसके चरित्र में वर्तमान दुष्टता की प्रवृत्ति में। यदि व्यक्ति की स्वाभाविक अच्छाई में उसे संदेह होता तो राज्य के उद्भव के पहले के समाज की कल्पना स्वर्णकाल के रूप में न की गई होती।[107] दूसरी तरफ यदि मानव-चरित्र में वर्तमान दुष्टता की प्रवृत्ति में उसे संदेह होता तो अराजक के सन्दर्भ में मात्स्यन्याय की उद्भावना न की गई होती।[108] मानव स्वभाव की नैसर्गिक शुद्धता को बढ़ावा देने के लिए सामान्य धर्म के अन्तर्गत आने वाले नैतिक गुणों का वातावरण होना चाहिये तो मात्स्य न्याय की प्रवृत्ति से बचने के लिए दुष्टदमन की व्यवस्था भी आवश्यक बन जाती है। दुष्टदमन के लिए बल प्रयोग आवश्यक है, हिंसा आवश्यक है। अतः लोकरंजन केवल मानव समाज की नैसर्गिक अच्छाई के बल पर नहीं किया जा सकता, यद्यपि वह उसका एक आवश्यक तथा अनिवार्य आधार है। दुष्ट-निग्रह के लिए धार्मिक हिंसा और बल प्रयोग का अधिकार किसी न किसी को देना होगा। यह अधिकार सामाजिक आवश्यकता से उत्पन्न होता है और वही सामाजिक हित इस हिंसा और बल प्रयोग से होने वाले सामान्य धर्म के अतिक्रमण को अनुमोदनीय भी बना देता है।[109] योद्धा जब तक इस सामाजिक दायित्व का वहन करता है, वह वैयक्तिकता की सीमा से ऊपर उठ कर सामाजिक हित का उपकरण बन जाता है और इसीलिए उसके द्वारा की गई हिंसा और सामान्य धर्म का अतिक्रमण आपत्तिजनक नहीं होता।[110] लेकिन अपने सामान्य जीवन में योद्धा भी एक व्यक्ति ही होता है और सामान्य धर्म की सीमाओं में बंधा होता है। सामाजिक दायित्व का वहन

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१०५. युधिष्ठिर का सारा तर्क यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयास है कि मनुष्य को मनुष्यता के स्तर से गिरा देने के कारण ही क्षात्र-धर्म निन्दनीय तथा त्याज्य है। (**शान्ति०**, ७.३-८.)

१०६. भारतीय चितन धारा में कहीं-कहीं अतिमानवीयता के आधार पर धर्म (सामान्य धर्म) के अतिक्रमण को भी न्यायपूर्ण ठहराने की चेष्टा की गयी है। **भागवत** पु०, १०, ३३.३० तथा आगे ; ओम प्रकाश, **वही**, पृ० ११८, पाद-टिप्पणी-३.

१०७. **शान्ति०**, ५९.१४.

१०८. **वही**, १५.३०; **अर्थ०**, १.४.१३, १४; **मनु०**, ७.२०.

१०९. "द कैपेसिटी आव एन अथार्टी टु वर्क इन्जरी टु सम ऑफ इट्स सब्जेक्ट्स रेट्स होल्ली एण्ड एक्सक्लुसिवली ऑन द एसेन्शियल एडवांटेज कनफर्ड बाइ एन एग्रीगेट"— डि जुवेनेल बर्ट्रेण्ड, **सावरिनिटी**, शिकागो, १९५७, पृ० २४.

११०. **शान्ति०**, ११०.१०, २४.

करते समय वह क्षात्रधर्म के आदर्शों से प्रेरित होता है, व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थलाभ और लोलुपता से नहीं। इसलिए हिंसा के क्षणों में भी वह संयमी होता है और मानसिक रूप से सामान्य धर्म के मूल्यों का पालन करता रहता है। हिंसा करते हुए भी वह हिंसा नहीं करता, छल-छद्म करते हुए भी वह छल-छद्म नहीं करता। वह तो समाज के न्यायिक नियंत्रण का निमित्त मात्र होता है।[111]

क्षात्रधर्म की उपर्युक्त विवेचना यह प्रदर्शित करती है कि **शान्तिपर्व** उसे दुष्ट-निग्रह के माध्यम से धर्म और न्याय की स्थापना के लिए आने वाली बाधाओं को दूर करने के लिए आवश्यक मानता है।[112] वह एक सामाजिक दायित्व है जिसका वहन योद्धाओं को अपने व्यक्तिगत आचरण की नैतिक पूर्णता की कीमत पर भी करना पड़ता है।[113] लेकिन चूंकि उसके बिना सामाजिक व्यवस्था ही खतरे में पड़ सकती है, धर्म का स्थान अधर्म ले सकता है, न्याय अन्याय में बदल सकता है, सारी मर्यादायें समाप्त हो सकती हैं इसलिए उस नैतिक पूर्णता से ही क्या लाभ जो पूरे समाज में व्यवस्थाहीनता का स्रोत बन जाय? क्या अधार्मिकता, अन्याय और समस्त मर्यादाओं के अभाव में व्यक्ति की नैतिक पूर्णता संभव हो सकती है? योद्धा इस प्रकार अपने क्षात्रधर्म का पालन करते हुए व्यक्ति की चारित्रिक उत्कृष्टता व नैतिक पूर्णता को सम्भव बनाता है और स्वयं भी अपने व्यक्तिगत जीवन में इन आदर्शों को पूरी तरह उतारने की चेष्टा करता है।[114]

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१११. तस्मात्त्वमुत्तिष्ठ यशो लभस्व,
जित्वा शत्रून् भुंक्ष्व राज्यं समृद्धम्।
मयैवेते निहतः पूर्वमेव,
निमित्तमात्रं भव सव्यसाचिन् ।।गीता, ११.३३.

११२. गीता के निम्न उद्धरण से यह ज्ञात होता है कि सामाजिक नियंत्रण की यह योजना वस्तुतः सृष्टि-नियमन की दैवी योजना का ही एक अंग है।

परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम्।
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे-युगे ।। गीता ४.८.

११३. इसका एक उदाहरण **महाभारत** की वह कथा है जिसके अनुसार ब्राह्मण की गायों की दस्युओं से रक्षा करने के लिए अर्जुन को अपनी वचनबद्धता भंग कर शस्त्र लेने के लिए उस स्थान पर जाना पड़ता है जहाँ द्रौपदी के साथ युधिष्ठिर एकान्तवास कर रहे थे। इसके अतिरिक्त युधिष्ठिर का अश्वत्थामा के मरने की झूठी खबर देकर द्रोण का वध करना, अर्जुन के साथ युद्धरत भूरिश्रवा की दोनों बाहें सात्यकि के द्वारा पीछे से जाकर काट लेना आदि कितने ही अनैतिक कृत्य इस धर्म युद्ध में अन्याय के प्रतिकारस्वरूप पाण्डवों की ओर से किए गए।

११४. गीता, १६. १-३.

वह अपने को इनसे ऊपर नहीं समझता और इनका विधाता भी नहीं समझता।[115] वह तो इन्हें लागू करना अपना धर्म समझता है और इसके लिए यदि आवश्यक हो तो हिंसा और बल प्रयोग भी करता है। समाज में मर्यादा की स्थापना और लोकरंजन जैसे कार्य भी उसी के बलिदानों के परिणामस्वरूप ही सम्पन्न होते हैं लेकिन इन बलिदानों के बदले योद्धा को क्या मिलता है? राज्य और वैभव का उपभोग जो लोकरंजन और लोक-व्यवस्था के दायित्वों के साथ उसे प्राप्त होते हैं क्या उसके जीवन की चरम उपलब्धि प्रस्तुत करते हैं? क्या ये ही उसके परमार्थ हैं या उसके आगे भी वह कुछ प्राप्त कर सकता है?

प्राचीन भारतीय दर्शन के इतिहास में मूल्यवर्ग के अन्तर्गत भी समय-समय पर श्रेया-श्रेय के द्वैत को स्थापित करने की चेष्टा की गयी है। उपनिषदों में प्रेय और श्रेय की दो कोटियों में पुरुषार्थ को विभाजित किया गया है। प्रेय के अन्तर्गत लौकिक उपलब्धियों का समावेश किया गया है तथा श्रेय के अन्तर्गत आध्यात्मिक उपलब्धियों का।[116] बौद्ध तथा जैन धर्म के प्रवर्तकों ने लौकिक उपलब्धि को आत्मिक उपलब्धि के समक्ष तुच्छ और नगण्य सिद्ध किया है।[117] इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि आत्मिक उपलब्धि का स्रोत मनुष्य की नैसर्गिक शुद्धता में किया जाने वाला वह विश्वास है जिससे **शान्तिपर्व** भी असहमत नहीं है अतः **शान्तिपर्व** की दृष्टि में भी आत्मिक उपलब्धि एक आवश्यक पुरुषार्थ है, शायद उतना ही आवश्यक जितना कि लौकिक उपलब्धि।[118] बिना इसके व्यक्ति को सर्वस्व लाभ का बोध नहीं होता, अपनी उपलब्धियों की परमता का बोध नहीं होता।

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११५. जिन-जिन राजाओं ने अपने को धर्म से ऊपर समझने की धृष्टता की, उनके विनाश की अनेक कथायें प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य में बिखरी हुई हैं जिनमें से अधिकांश स्वयं **महाभारत** में ही वर्णित हैं। उनकी सूची मनु तथा कामन्दक ने दी है। **मनु०**, ७.४१, **काम०**, १. १४, ५६, ५७. इन उदाहरणों के बावजूद कुछ विद्वान् राजा को धर्म अथवा कानून का स्रोत मानने की दलील देते हैं। इनकी दलील में यदि कोई सत्य है तो वह केवल तथ्यात्मक स्तर पर ही हो सकता है, अवधारणात्मक स्तर पर नहीं।

जे० डी० एम० डेरेट, **रिलीजन, लॉ एण्ड स्टेट इन एन्शिएन्ट इण्डिया**, लंदन, १९६८, पृ० १६५-१६६. आर० लिंगात, **क्लासिकल लॉ ऑफ इण्डिया** (अंग्रेजी अनु० जे० डी० एम० डेरेट) लंदन, १९७३, पृ० २२८.

११६. **कठोपनिषद्**, १.२.१.

११७. कोंजे, एडवर्ड, **इण्डियन बुद्धिज्म**।

११८. इसका सबसे प्रबल प्रमाण शान्तिपर्व के अन्तर्गत **मोक्षधर्मपर्व** का समावेश है।

योद्धाओं के बलिदान द्वारा स्थापित लोक व्यवस्था और लोकरंजन के वातावरण में इस चरम उपलब्धि का मार्ग औरों के लिए तो प्रशस्त हो जाता है, उनके मार्ग की बाधायें दूर हो जाती हैं, चरित्र की नैतिक पूर्णता को प्रोत्साहन मिलता है लेकिन क्या योद्धा स्वयं भी उन्हें प्राप्त कर सकता है या उसे अपने जीवन के सर्वस्व बोध से भी वंचित रखकर सामाजिक दायित्व उससे एक इससे भी बड़े बलिदान की आशा रखता है ? सामान्यतया आत्मिक उत्कर्ष को उपलब्धि की सीमा तक पहुंचाने के लिए जिस मार्ग से होकर गुजरना पड़ता है उसमें न तो हिंसा होती है, न छल-छद्म होता है, न लिप्सा होती है और न चरित्र के वे सारे दोष होते हैं जो एक योद्धा को क्षात्रधर्म निभाने के लिए बरबस अपने चरित्र में लाने पड़ते हैं। उसका मार्ग ही और है जिस पर यदि योद्धा चलने लगे तो वह योद्धा नहीं रह जायेगा और यदि वह योद्धा रहता है तो उस मार्ग पर चल नहीं सकता। ऐसी परिस्थिति में दो ही विकल्प शेष रह जाते हैं, या तो योद्धा द्वारा किया गया स्वधर्मपालन ही उसके लिए आत्मिक उत्कर्ष का साधन मान लिया जाय या फिर उसे परमार्थ से सर्वथा वंचित कर दिया जाय।[119] **शान्तिपर्व** दूसरे विकल्प को प्रस्तुत करने का साहस नहीं करता और पहला वह तार्किक असंगति के कारण प्रस्तुत नहीं कर सकता क्योंकि जो लक्ष्य नैतिक पूर्णता के द्वारा प्राप्त किया जा सकता है वह योद्धा को चरित्र की अनैतिकताओं से कैसे मिल सकता है ? इस समस्या का समाधान **शान्तिपर्व** में योद्धा के अन्तर्गत मनुष्यत्व की भूमिका को उभार कर किया गया है। योद्धा हर समय योद्धा नहीं होता, अपने जीवन के अधिकांश समय में वह उस चारित्रिक पूर्णता को अपने जीवन में उतार सकता है जो आत्मिक उपलब्धि तक पहुंचाती है। योद्धा की भूमिका निभाते समय भी यदि वह स्वयं को उस पूर्णता से च्युत न मानकर कर्तव्य निष्ठा के साथ उस नैतिक पूर्णता का अतिक्रमण भी करता है तो उसका वह कार्य उसे आत्मिक उपलब्धि के मार्ग से अलग नहीं करता। प्रश्न केवल दृष्टिकोण का है। यदि कमल का पत्ता पानी में रहते हुये भी पानी से लिप्त हुये बिना अपनी शुद्धता बनाये रख सकता है[120] तो हिंसात्मक वातावरण में रहता हुआ योद्धा भी अपनी नैतिक पूर्णता बनाये रख सकता है। **गीता** का निष्काम कर्मयोग इस विरोध को समाप्त करता है और परमार्थ को योद्धा के लिये भी सम्भव बनाता है।

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११९. यूनानी संसार में दुःखान्त नाटकों का मूल उत्स वस्तुतः दूसरों के हित के लिए अपने स्वार्थों को नकार कर योद्धाओं द्वारा किया जाने वाला आत्म-बलिदान ही था। हेराक्लीज की यातनायें और प्रोमैथियस का बलिदान दैवी योद्धाओं के आत्म-त्याग व दूसरों के लिए किए गए आत्मबलिदानों के जीवन्त उदाहरण हैं।

इन्साइक्लोपीडिया ब्रिटेनिका, रेडी रेफरेंस एण्ड इण्डेक्सेस; जिल्द ४, पृ० १०३६ तथा जिल्द ८, पृ० २३७.

१२०. **गीता**, ५.१०.

रामायण में शरणागति

डा० अशोक कुमार कालिया

लखनऊ

Śaraṇāgati is total surrender to God. The author deals with the concept of 'surrender' as found in the context of the surrender of Vibhīṣaṇa to Rāma in the Yuddhakāṇḍa of *Rāmāyaṇa* and concludes that almost all salient characteristics of the concept of Śaraṇāgati as propounded by the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas later are existent already in the *Rāmayaṇa*.

शरणागति श्री वैष्णव धर्म और दर्शन का अत्यधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्त है। मोक्ष के लिए विहित उपायों के अनुष्ठान में असमर्थ मुमुक्षुओं के लिए इसका विधान किया गया है। न्यास, भरन्यास, संन्यास, निक्षेप, त्याग तथा प्रपत्ति इसी शरणागति की अन्य संज्ञाएँ हैं।[1] असमर्थ, असहाय का परम विश्वास के साथ किसी समर्थ के संरक्षण में जाना ही—अपनी रक्षा का भार सौंप देना ही, शरणागति का अभिप्राय है। शास्त्रों में इसी अर्थ का विस्तार किया गया है। श्री वैष्णव सम्प्रदाय में वेद मन्त्र के समान ही शरणागति का प्रतिपादन करने वाली गीता की इस उक्ति को महत्त्वपूर्ण तथा प्रामाणिक माना गया है—

सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज।
अहं त्वां सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः।।[2]

शरणागति के लिए कुछ पूर्वापेक्षाएं भी हैं। इन्हीं अपेक्षाओं को शरणागति की विधाएं अथवा अंग कहा गया है। यही कारण है, षडंग अथवा षड्विधा शरणागति कही जाती है। इन छहों अंगों अथवा विधाओं को एक स्थान पर इन शब्दों में बताया गया है—

आनुकूल्यस्य सङ्कल्पः प्रातिकूल्यस्य वर्जनम्।
रक्षिष्यतीति विश्वासो गोप्तृत्ववरणं तथा।
आत्मनिक्षेपकार्पण्ये षड्विधा शरणागतिः।।[3]

अर्थात्

(१) आनुकूल्य संकल्प
(२) प्रातिकूल्यवर्जन,

१—द्रष्टव्य—निक्षेपापरपर्यायो न्यासः पञ्चाङ्गसंयुतः।
संन्यासस्त्याग इत्युक्तः शरणागतिरित्यपि।।
—लक्ष्मतन्त्र, १७।७५

२—गीता, १८।६६

३—लक्ष्मीतन्त्र, १७।५९-६१

(३) रक्षा में विश्वास,
(४) रक्षक के रूप में वरण,
(५) आत्मनिक्षेप, तथा
(६) कार्पण्य
ये शरणागति के छह अंग हैं।

शरणागति का महत्त्व :

यों तो मोक्ष के अनेक उपाय हैं, किन्तु भक्ति तथा शरणागति का उनमें सर्वोपरि स्थान है। श्री वैष्णव सम्प्रदाय का स्वरूप भक्ति अथवा शरणागति के सिद्धान्त में ही परिलक्षित होता है। इन दोनों में भी शरणागति को अधिक महत्त्व प्रदान किया गया है। मोक्ष के अन्य तीन उपाय हैं—१. कर्म, २. ज्ञान तथा ३. भक्ति। ये तीनों उपाय चतुर्थ शरणागति नामक उपाय के समक्ष महत्त्वहीन हैं। अन्य तीनों उपाय समय-सहिष्णु तथा दुष्कर हैं जबकि शरणागति नामक उपाय शीघ्र फलप्रद तथा सुकर है।[4] भक्ति के अधिकारी वे हैं जो त्रैवर्णिक हैं—अर्थात् ब्राह्मण, अथवा क्षत्रिय, अथवा वैश्य हैं, जो मोक्ष प्राप्ति की प्रक्रिया में होने वाले विलम्ब को सह सकते हैं। प्रारब्ध कर्मफलों के भोग के बाद ही मोक्ष सम्भव होता है। इसी कारण भक्ति नामक उपाय को विलम्ब-सहिष्णु कहा गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त भक्ति-योग के अधिकारी वे हैं जिनकी अन्य उपायों के अनुष्ठान में सामर्थ्य है। भक्तियोग असमर्थों के लिए मोक्ष का साधन नहीं बन सकता। इस प्रकार भक्ति योग में जो मुमुक्षु अधिकृत नहीं हैं, उन्हीं का शरणागति में अधिकार है। अर्थात् जो त्रैवर्णिक नहीं है—शूद्र हैं, भक्तियोग के अनुष्ठान में असमर्थ हैं, और प्रारब्ध कर्मफल के भोग के पूर्व ही मोक्ष पाना चाहते हैं—इतना विलम्ब नहीं सह सकते, वे शरणागति के अधिकारी हैं। इसी कारण शरणागति को सुकर उपाय कहा गया है। वस्तुतः यह उपाय जितना सुकर है उतना दुष्कर भी है।[5] शरणागति के लिए जिन पांच पूर्वापेक्षाओं अथवा पांच अंगों का उल्लेख किया गया है, वे ही शरणागति को दुष्कर बना देते हैं। ये ऐसी अपेक्षाएं हैं जिनकी पूर्ति सभी नहीं कर सकते। महाविश्वास आदि के एक बार भी खण्डित हो जाने पर शरणागति खण्डित हो जाती है। इस कारण एक दृष्टि से यदि शरणागति भक्तियोग की अपेक्षा सुकर है तो दूसरी दृष्टि से दुष्कर भी है।

इस प्रकार यद्यपि श्रीवैष्णव धर्म के अन्तर्गत मोक्ष के अन्य उपायों का भी प्रतिपादन किया गया है किन्तु अन्ततोगत्वा सारा बल शरणागति पर ही आता है।

४—उपायोऽयं चतुर्थस्ते प्रोक्तः शीघ्रफलप्रदः।

लक्ष्मीतन्त्र, १७।७६

५—उपायः सुकरः सोऽयं दुष्करश्च मतो मम।

लक्ष्मीतन्त्र, १७।१०५

शरणागति का लक्षण :

अनन्यसाध्ये स्वाऽभीष्टे महाविश्वासपूर्वकम् ।
तदेकोपायतायाच्ञा प्रपत्तिः शरणागतिः ।।[6]

अर्थात् अपने अभीष्ट के अनन्यसाध्य होने पर—अन्य उपायों से साध्य न होने पर, महाविश्वासपूर्वक उसी के उपाय बनने की याचना को प्रपत्ति अथवा शरणागति कहते हैं। आचार्य वेदान्तदेशिक ने इसी के आधार पर शरणागति का निर्दोष लक्षण इन शब्दों में प्रस्तुत किया है—

अनन्यसाध्यस्वाभीष्टसाधनसमर्थवशीकरणं शरणागतिः ।[7]

तात्पर्य यह है कि उपाय और फल दोनों को ईश्वर के प्रति समर्पित कर देना शरणागति है। शास्त्रों में यही बात विविध रूपों में प्रस्तुत की गयी है।

रामायण में संज्ञा-विचार :

रामायण में विषय की दृष्टि से शरणागति का विवेचन करने के पूर्व इस ग्रन्थ की संज्ञा पर विचार करना इस दृष्टि से आवश्यक है कि इस प्रकार से इस ग्रन्थ का श्रीवैष्णव धर्म के निकट होना सिद्ध होता है। इस दृष्टि से प्रतिवादिभयंकर अण्णंगराचार्य ने **वैदिकमनोहरा** (जुलाई, १९७३) नामक पत्रिका में विचार किया है। यह ग्रन्थ तीन नामों से प्रसिद्ध है—(१) **रामायणम्**, (२) **श्रीरामायणम्**, (३) **श्रीमद्रामायणम्**। इनमें श्रीविरहित **रामायण** के विषय में अण्णंगराचार्य जी की कोई विवक्षा नहीं है। अन्य दोनों की उन्होंने अच्छी मीमांसा की है।

"रामस्य अयनं रामायणम्"—अर्थात् रामकथा, यह व्युत्पत्ति प्रसिद्ध ही है। पूज्यता बताने के लिए श्री अथवा श्रीमत् शब्दों का प्रयोग किया जा सकता है। परम्परानुसार इस ग्रन्थ में रामकथा के समान ही सीताकथा की भी प्रधानता है। यथा—

'श्रीमद्रामायणमपि परं प्राणिति त्वच्चरित्रे'[8]

अथवा—

'इतिहासश्रेष्ठेन श्रीरामायणेन लंकारुद्धवैदेहीवैभवमुच्यते ।[9] अथवा महर्षि वाल्मीकि के ही शब्दों में—

"काव्यं रामायणं कृत्स्नं सीतायाश्चरितं महत्[10]

६—**प्रपन्नपारिजात**, स्वरूपपद्धति में उदाहृत, २
७—**निक्षेपरक्षा**, पृ० २८ (वेदान्तदेशिक ग्रन्थमाला-काञ्चीपुरम्)
८—**श्रीगुणरत्नकोश** से **वैदिकमनोहरा** (जुलाई, १९७३), पृ० १, पर उदाहृत
९—**श्रीवचनभूषण** से **वैदिकमनोहरा** (जुलाई, ७३), पृ० १, पर उदाहृत
१०—**रामायण** (रा०) बाल०, ४/७

इस प्रकार यह स्पष्ट होता है कि इस ग्रन्थ रत्न में सीता तथा राम दोनों की कथा का, दोनों के चरित्र का प्रतिपादन किया गया है। ऐसा मान लेने पर **श्रीरामायणम्** यह प्रयोग ही उचित सिद्ध होता है। व्युत्पत्ति इस प्रकार से होगी—

"श्रीश्च रामश्च श्रीरामौ, तयो: अयनं श्रीरामायणम्"

"श्रीमद्रामायणम्" का अर्थ होगा श्रीविशिष्ट राम की कथा। इस स्थिति में श्री विशेषण और राम विशेष्य हो जाते हैं। विशेषण अप्रधान तथा विशेष्य प्रधान होता है। **श्रीमद्रामायणम्** कहने से विशेषण सीता अप्रधान हो जाती है तथा विशेष्य राम प्रधान हो जाते हैं। जब कि यह कहा जा चुका है कि **रामायण** में राम और सीता दोनों का चरित्र समान रूप से प्रतिपादित है। इस कारण **श्रीरामायणम्** यही प्रयोग साधुतर है।

किन्तु यदि **श्रीमद्रामायणम्** यही प्रयोग मानना है तो व्युत्पत्ति इस प्रकार माननी होगी—

"रामाया अयनं रामायणम्"

रामा अर्थात् सीता की कथा या सीता का चरित्र। श्रीमत् पद ग्रन्थ का विशेषण है।[11]

साम्प्रदायिक दृष्टि से भी **"श्रीमद्रामायणम्"** इस संज्ञा में किसी प्रकार की आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए। लक्ष्मी को विशेषण तथा भगवान् विशेष्य माना भी गया है। इस सन्दर्भ में श्रीकुमारवरदाचार्य की यह उक्ति द्रष्टव्य है—

"अत्रोपायभूतस्य भगवतो विशेषणत्वेन पूर्वमपि पुरुषकारभूतायालक्ष्म्या: स्वीकारे नोपायद्वित्वप्रसंगः। विशेषणविशेष्ययो: स्वरूपभेदेऽपि विशिष्टस्यैकत्वात्। विशेष्यस्यैव प्रधानत्वाच्च।[12]

यदि यह कहा जाय कि राम और सीता दोनों की कथा इस ग्रन्थ में है, इस कारण द्वन्द्व समास ही अभीष्ट है, तो प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या राम-कथा की उपेक्षा करके सीता-कथा हो सकती है, अथवा सीताकथा की उपेक्षा करके राम-कथा हो सकती है? स्पष्ट है, नहीं हो सकती है। क्योंकि दोनों की एक ही कथा है। इसलिए **श्रीरामायणम्** तथा **श्रीमद्रामायणम्** दोनों ही नाम सुन्दर हैं तथा सम्प्रदाय-संगत हैं।

११—द्रष्टव्य, **वैदिकमनोहरा** (जुलाई, ७३) में श्री अण्णंगाराचार्य का निबन्ध पृ० १-३

१२—**श्रीमद्रहस्यत्रयसारार्थसंग्रह**, द्वयाधिकार, पृ० १६

वैसे लगता तो यही है कि ग्रन्थ का वास्तविक नाम **रामायणम्** (रामस्य अयनमिति) है, तथा परम्परानुसार पूज्यता व्यक्त करने के उद्देश्य से "श्री" तथा "श्रीमत्" पद विशेषण के रूप में प्रयुक्त किये जाते हैं। यहाँ, यह बात अवश्य ध्यातव्य है कि ये पद राम के विशेषण के रूप में प्रयुक्त नहीं किये गये हैं, **रामायण** संज्ञक ग्रन्थ के विशेषण के रूप में ही प्रयुक्त किये गये हैं। उपर्युक्त विवेचन से इतना स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि श्रीवैष्णव सम्प्रदाय का **रामायण** के प्रति क्या दृष्टिकोण है।

रामायण में शरणागति :

यद्यपि **रामायण** किसी सम्प्रदाय-विशेष से सम्बद्ध ग्रन्थ नहीं है, तथापि प्रसंगतः इसमें शरणागति का विवेचन हुआ है। युद्धकाण्ड में राम के प्रति की गयी विभीषण की शरणागति का वर्णन है। विभीषण ने न्यायमार्ग का अवलम्बन लेते हुए रावण को परामर्श दिया कि वह सीता को राम के प्रति सौंप दे, किन्तु इसके उत्तर में रावण ने विभीषण को कठोर वचनों के साथ अपमानित किया।[13] इस प्रकार विभीषण राम की शरण में आया —

निवेदयत मां क्षिप्रं राघवाय महात्मने।
सर्वलोकशरण्याय विभीषणमुपस्थितम्।।[14]

सुग्रीव, अंगद, शरभ, जाम्बवान् तथा मन्द ने विभीषण के व्यवहार पर सन्देह किया, उसे रावण का गुप्तचर समझा, तथा राम को यह परामर्श दिया कि विभीषण की सत्यता के परिज्ञान के लिए गुप्तचर नियुक्त किये जायँ। हनुमान् का मत इनसे भिन्न था। हनुमान् का कहना था कि यह विभीषण राम के पराक्रम तथा रावण के मिथ्याचरण को अच्छी प्रकार देखकर, बालि के बध तथा सुग्रीव के अभिषेक को सुनकर राज्य प्राप्ति की इच्छा से सोच-समझ कर यहाँ आया है। इसलिए इस विभीषण को स्वीकार करना चाहिए।[15]

यही वह स्थल है जहाँ शरणागति का स्वल्प किन्तु महत्त्वपूर्ण विवेचन हुआ है। अब सर्वप्रथम यह प्रश्न उठता है कि शरण में आने वाले के गुण अथवा दोष का विचार करना चाहिए अथवा नहीं। हनुमान् की बात का समर्थन करते हुए राम ने जब कहा कि मित्र भाव से प्राप्त हुए विभीषण को मैं त्याग नहीं सकता, भले ही वह दुष्ट क्यों न हो,[16] सुग्रीव का तर्क नीति की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त उत्कृष्ट है—

१३—सोऽहं परुषितस्तेन दासवच्चावमानितः।
त्यक्त्वा पुत्रांश्च दारांश्च राघवं शरणं गतः।। रा० युद्धकाण्ड (यु०), १७/१६ (गीता प्रेस संस्करण)

१४—रा० यु०, १७/१७

१५—रा० यु० १७/६६,६७

१६—मित्रभावेन सम्प्राप्तं न त्यजेयं कथचन।
दोषो यद्यपि तस्य स्यात् सतामेतदगर्हितम्।। रा० यु० १८/३

स दुष्टो वाऽप्यदुष्टो वा किमेष रजनीचरः।
ईदृशं व्यसनं प्राप्तं भ्रातरं यः परित्यजेत्।
को नाम स भवेत् तस्य यमेष न परित्यजेत्।[17]

राक्षस की सदोषता अथवा निर्दोषता से क्या प्रयोजन। प्रश्न यह है कि जो व्यक्ति संकटग्रस्त अपने भाई का परित्याग कर सकता है वह किसका परित्याग नहीं कर सकता। जितना सुन्दर सुग्रीव का तर्क है, उतनी ही सुन्दर राम के द्वारा की गयी विभीषण के व्यवहार की मीमांसा है।[18] इस प्रकार आदिकाव्य में शरणागति की यह संक्षिप्त पूर्वपीठिका है।

रामायण में शरणागति-विधि :

शरणागति के सन्दर्भ में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या शरणागति की प्रतिपादक कोई विधि नहीं है ? श्रीवैष्णव सम्प्रदाय में इस प्रश्न का अनेक उदाहरणों के साथ सप्रमाण उत्तर दिया गया है। इसी सन्दर्भ में **रामायण** की भी सहायता ली गयी है। विभीषण की शरणागति के विषय में राम ने अपना संकल्प इस प्रकार प्रकट किया है—

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवाऽस्मीति च याचते।
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद् व्रतं मम॥[19]

अर्थात् जो एक बार भी शरण में आकर है, "मैं आपका हूं" ऐसा निवेदन करता है उसे मैं सभी प्राणियों से अभय प्रदान करता हूं, ऐसा मेरा व्रत है। इन शब्दों का श्रीवैष्णव सम्प्रदाय में बड़ा महत्त्व है। प्रश्न है— क्या इन शब्दों को शरणागति-विधि नहीं माना जा सकता है ? वेदान्तदेशिक पूर्वपक्ष प्रस्तुत करते हुए कहते हैं—

"सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय" इस सर्वलोकशरण्य भगवान् राम के ही वाक्य से प्रपत्तिविधि को सिद्ध मानना उचित नहीं क्योंकि वहाँ भी "अभयकामी मेरी शरण आये" इस प्रकार की विधि दिखायी नहीं देती। यदि यह कहा जाय कि वाक्य के तात्पर्य से ऐसा ज्ञात होता है तो भी ठीक नहीं, क्योंकि राम के गुण-विशेष का प्रतिपादन मात्र ही इस वाक्य का तात्पर्य है। यदि यह कहा जाय कि गुण-विशेष में वाक्य का तात्पर्य होने पर भी श्रोताओं के लिए इस उक्ति का कर्तव्यविशेष के उपदेश में प्रयोजन होने के कारण श्रुतार्थापत्ति से गतिविधि सिद्ध होती है तो भी उचित नहीं। प्रपन्न राम के द्वारा अपरित्याज्य है अतः ऐसा ही व्यवहार करना चाहिए इतना मात्र सिद्ध होने से धर्म रूप से प्रपत्ति की करणीयता में कोई प्रमाण नहीं है। यह कहना भी संगत नहीं कि यह प्रपन्न का परित्याग नहीं करता

१७—रा० यु०, १८/५–६
१८—रा० यु०, १८/१०/१५।
१९—रा० यु० १८/३३

ऐसा सिद्ध हो जाने पर अर्थतः प्रपत्तिकर्तव्यता सिद्ध हो जाती है, क्योंकि, यह मान लेने पर भी कि मनुष्य शरीरधारी क्षात्र-धर्म का अभिनय करने वाले भगवान् के उस प्रकार के स्वभाव का निर्णय हो जाने पर उस समय के लोगों के लिए उनका ईश्वरत्त्व है, उनके प्रति की गयी शरणागति अविद्वानों की ही सिद्ध होगी। ईश्वर के याथात्म्य को जानने वाले मुमुक्षुओं के लिए अपवर्ग के अव्यवहित साधन के रूप में प्रपत्ति की करणीयता में कोई प्रमाण नहीं है तो रामादि अवतारों में याथात्म्य-ज्ञान रहितों के लिए ही इष्ट सिध्यर्थ प्रपत्ति मान ली जाय, यह कहना भी ठीक नहीं है क्योंकि मानुष भावना में इस समय प्रपत्ति नहीं हो सकती, किसी प्रकार देवतात्व की भावना की जाय तो भी उक्त दोष बना रहता है।[20]

एवम् प्रपत्ति विधि नहीं बन सकती, इस प्रकार का पूर्वपक्ष प्रस्तुत करने के अनन्तर वेदान्तदेशिक सिद्धान्त पक्ष प्रस्तुत करते हैं कि "सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय" यह वाक्य वस्तुतः शरणागति विधि का ही प्रतिपादन करता है—

"सकृदेव प्रपन्नायेत्यत्रापि प्रपदनविध्यभावेऽपि अभयप्राप्तिकामो मां प्रपद्येतेति वाक्यतात्पर्यस्य सिद्धत्वात् रामगुणविशेषप्रतिपादनपरत्वेऽपि वाक्यस्य गुणविशेषश्रुत्यर्थापत्त्यैव प्रपदनीयत्वसिद्धया प्रपत्तिसिद्धेः। तस्यैव गुणस्य शास्त्रान्तरैः—

स हि देवैरुदीर्णस्य रावणस्य वधार्थिभिः।
अर्थितो मानुषे लोके जज्ञे विष्णुः सनातनः॥

इत्यादितत्रत्यवचनबलाच्च परव्यूहविभवादिसर्वावस्थासाधारणत्वात् सर्वदा सर्वैः प्रपदनत्वस्यापि सिद्धौ सिद्धं भगवत्प्रपदनविधावेव सकृदेवेत्यादितात्पर्यम्।[21]

अर्थात् "सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय" इस वाक्य में प्रपत्तिविधि न होने पर भी अभयकामी मेरी शरण आये यही वाक्य का तात्पर्य है। राम के गुण विशेष का प्रतिपादन होने पर भी गुणविशेष के श्रवण की अर्थापत्ति से राम के शरण्य सिद्ध होने से शरणागति की सिद्धि होती है। यही गुण शास्त्रों में भी प्रतिपादित है। इस प्रकार "सकृदेव..." इस श्लोक के द्वारा शरणागति-विधि की सिद्धि होती है।

शरणागति की सकृत् करणीयता—

"ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम्"[22] "तमेव विदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमेति"[23] "ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्मैव भवति"[24] 'यदापश्यः पश्यते रुक्मवर्णम्'[25] इत्यादि श्रुतियों में प्रतिपादित ब्रह्म की प्राप्ति की

२०—निक्षेपरक्षा, पृ० ११ (काञ्चीपुर संस्करण)
२१—निक्षेपरक्षा, पृ० ३०
२२—तै० उ० १
२३—श्वे० उ० ३।८
२४—मु० उ० ३।२।९
२५—मु० उ० ३।१।३

साधनभूत ब्रह्मविद्या सकृत् करणीय है अथवा असकृत्? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर बादरायण ने अपने सूत्र "आवृत्तिसकृदुपदेशात्"[26] के अन्तर्गत प्रतिपादित किया है। ब्रह्मविद्या बारम्बार आवृत्ति करने पर ही फलवती होती है और यह आवृत्ति मरणपर्यन्त की जानी चाहिए। यही विषय "आप्रयाणात् तत्रापि हि दृष्टम्"[27] सूत्र में बादरायण ने प्रतिपादित किया है। शरणागति भी ब्रह्मविद्या है। इसलिए यह शंका होती है कि शरणागति यदि एक ही बार की जाय तो फलप्रद नहीं होगी। इसकी भी आवृत्ति अन्य ब्रह्मविद्याओं के समान होनी चाहिए। यहाँ इस प्रश्न के उत्तर में यह ध्यातव्य है कि यद्यपि शरणागति ब्रह्मविद्या है तथापि अन्य ब्रह्मविद्याओं के समान शरणागति की आवृत्ति अपेक्षित नहीं है। एक ही बार की गयी शरणागति फलप्रद होती है। यही शरणागति की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता है।

पाञ्चरात्र आगमों में जहाँ शरणागति का स्वरूप आदि विषय विस्तार के साथ प्रतिपादित किया गया है, वहीं यह बतलाया गया है कि सकृत् की गयी शरणागति फलप्रद होती है। लक्ष्मीतन्त्र के शब्दों में—

सकृदेव हि शास्त्रार्थः कृतोऽयं तारयेन्नरम्।
उपायापायसंयोगे निष्ठया हीयतेऽन्यथा ॥[28]

यदि किसी कारणवश सकृत् की गयी शरणागति खण्डित हो जाय तो प्रायश्चित का विधान है और वह प्रायश्चित है पुनः शरणागति—

अपायसंप्लवे सद्यः प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत्।
प्रायश्चित्तिरियं सात्र यत्पुनः शरणं श्रयेत्॥[29]

इसी विश्वास से प्रेरित होकर श्रीवेंकटनाथ वेदान्तदेशिक अपने ग्रन्थ न्यासतिलक में श्रीरंगनाथ भगवान् के अभयमुद्रा से युक्त दक्षिणहस्त से रक्षा की याचना करते हैं जो मानो बारम्बार की जाने वाली शरणागति का निषेध कर रहा है—

प्रायः प्रपदने पुंसां पौनःपुन्यं निवारयन्।
हस्तः श्रीरंगभर्तुर्मामव्यादभयमुद्रितः[30]॥

२६—ब्र० सू० ४।१।१
२७—वही, ४।१।१२
२८—लक्ष्मीतन्त्र, १७।९२
२९—वही, १७।९३
३०—न्यासतिलक, २.

इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में **रामायण** का उक्त श्लोक विशेषरूप से महत्त्वपूर्ण है, जो एक ही बार की प्रपत्ति को पर्याप्त बताता है—

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मीति च याचते।
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद् व्रतं मम ॥[31]

शरणागति की सकृत् करणीयता में **रामायण** का यह वचन श्रीवैष्णव सम्प्रदाय में अत्यन्त प्रामाणिक माना जाता है तथा इस सम्प्रदाय के मानने वालों के लिए यह वचन सदैव प्रेरणा का स्रोत रहा है। इसी विश्वास के कारण तो वैष्णव आचार्यों में प्रमुख श्री यामुनाचार्य भगवान् को उपालम्भ देते हैं—

ननु प्रपन्नस्सकृदेव नाथ तवाहमस्मीति च याचमानः।
तवानुकम्प्यः स्मरतः प्रतिज्ञां मदेकवर्जं किमिदं व्रतं ते ॥[32]

आपका व्रत है कि जो आपकी शरण में एक बार आता है तथा "मैं आपका हूं" ऐसी याचना करता है वह आपकी अनुकम्पा का पात्र बन जाता है। आचार्य को यहाँ पर आपत्ति यह है कि वह भी तो इसी प्रकार शरण में आये हैं किन्तु भगवान् की कृपा के पात्र नहींबन सके। यह कैसा व्रत है?

स्पष्ट है कि इस श्लोक में यामुनाचार्य ने भगवान् राम की **'सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय'** प्रतिज्ञा की ओर संकेत किया है।

रामायण में साङ्ग शरणागति :

शरणागति के छः अंगों का निर्देश आरम्भ में किया जा चुका है। विभीषण के द्वारा की गयी राम के प्रति शरणागति इन सभी अंगों से युक्त है, पूर्ण है—

रावणो नाम दुर्वृत्तो राक्षसो राक्षसेश्वरः।
तस्याहमनुजो भ्राता विभीषण इति श्रुतः ॥[33]

यहाँ "दुराचारी रावण" इस कथन से राम के प्रति आनुकूल्यसंकल्प और प्रातिकूल्यवर्जन नामक शरणागति के अंगों का बोध होता है। 'तस्याहमनुजो भ्राता' उस दुराचारी रावण का अनुज होने के कारण अपने भी दोषी होने का कथन करने के कारण गर्व-हानि रूप कार्पण्य नामक शरणागति के अंग का प्रतिपादन है।[34]

सोऽहं परुषितस्तेन दासवच्चावमानितः।
त्यक्त्वा पुत्रांश्च दारांश्च राघवं शरणं गतः ॥[35]

३१—रा० यु०, १८।३३
३२—स्तोत्ररत्न, ६४
३३—रा० यु०, १७।१२
३४—द्रष्टव्य रा० यु० तिलकटीका, १७।१२, (गुजराती प्रिंटिंग प्रेस, बम्बई, १९१९)
३५—रा० यु०, १७।१६

यहाँ 'राघवं शरणं गतः' इस कथन के द्वारा आत्मनिक्षेप नामक शरणागति के अंग का प्रतिपादन किया गया है।[36]

निवेदयत मां क्षिप्रं राघवाय महात्मने।
सर्वलोकशरण्याय विभीषणमुपस्थितम् ॥[37]

इस श्लोक में गोप्तृत्ववरण तथा महाविश्वास संज्ञक शरणागति के अंगों का प्रतिपादन है।[38]

रामायण की गोविन्दराजीय टीका के अनुसार यहां तक वाचिक शरणागति का प्रतिपादन है। इसके अनन्तर कायिक शरणागति का प्रतिपादन किया गया है।

स तु रामस्य 'धर्मात्मा निपपात विभीषणः।
पादयोर्निपपाताथ चतुर्भिः सह राक्षसैः ॥[39]

यहां 'स तु' के द्वारा आनुकूल्य-संकल्प और प्रातिकूल्य-वर्जन, धर्मात्मा के द्वारा महाविश्वास, शरणान्वेषी होने के कारण गोप्तृत्ववरण, तथा 'पपात' के द्वारा आत्मनिक्षेप नामक शरणागति के अंगों का प्रतिपादन है। इस प्रकार इस श्लोक में विभीषण के द्वारा की गयी कायिक शरणागति का उल्लेख किया गया है।[40]

प्रणतार्तिहरत्व और आश्रितवत्सलत्व :

यह शरणागति के समानान्तर भगवान् के विशेष गुण हैं। रामानुज ने **श्रीरंगगद्य** में भगवान् के लिए इन विशेषणों का प्रयोग किया है—

"...प्रणतार्तिहर, आश्रितवात्सल्यैकमहोदधे,"[41]

"शरण में आये हुए के सभी दोषों-अपराधों को भुलाकर उसकी रक्षा करना" यह भगवान् का विशेष गुण है। इसी गुण की ओर रामानुज ने **श्रीभाष्य** के प्रथम श्लोक में संकेत किया है—

विनतविविधभूतव्रातरक्षैकदीक्षे।[42]

३६—रा० यु०, तिलक टीका १७।१६
३७—रा० यु०, १७।१७
३८—रा०, यु०, तिलक टीका, १७।१७
३९—रा० यु०, १९।२, ३
४०—तत्रानुकूल्यसंकल्पप्रातिकूल्यवर्जनवत्त्वमुक्तम्। धर्मात्मेति। महाविश्वासः शरणान्वेषीति गोप्तृत्ववरणं पपातेत्यात्मनिक्षेप इति सांगशरणागतिः कृता भवेत्। रा०, यु०, गोविन्दराजीय टीका, १९।२,३
४१—श्रीरंगगद्य, ७
४२—श्रीभाष्य, १

वेदान्तदेशिक के शब्दों में—

शरणागतरक्षणैकदीक्षः समये तत्परिपन्थिनो निरुन्धन्।
प्रभुरायतते परः कृपायां सचिवास्तस्य च सर्व एव देवाः॥[43]

अर्थात् जिसका शरणागत की रक्षा ही एक मात्र संकल्प है, ऐसा सर्वेश्वर उचित अवसर पर शरणविरोधियों का निराकरण करता हुआ कृपा-परतन्त्र हो जाता है। सभी देवता उसके सचिव होते हैं।

रामायण में भगवान राम ने शरण में आये हुए के प्रति शरण्य का क्या कर्तव्य होता है—इस विषय का सप्रमाण विवेचन किया है।

शरण में आये हुए विभीषण के विषय में सुग्रीव आदि ने अपने-अपने विचार प्रस्तुत किये। सुग्रीव ने कहा कि यह अत्यन्त क्रूर रावण का अनुज है इसलिए सचिवों सहित इसका वध कर देना चाहिए"—वध्यतामेषः"[44]

जाम्बवान् ने कहा कि विभीषण का आगमन अदेशकाल में हुआ है। इस कारण यह सर्वथा शंकनीय है—"शंक्यतामयम्"।[45] हनुमान ने सारी स्थिति का विवेचन करके यह मत व्यक्त किया कि विभीषण के आने में किसी प्रकार का छल नहीं है। इसलिए इसे स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिए—"युज्यते तस्य संग्रहः"।[46]

इन सारे मतों को सुनकर तथा विचार करके राम ने युक्ति और प्रमाणों के द्वारा यह प्रतिपादित किया कि शरणागत की रक्षा करनी ही चाहिए। शत्रु भी यदि शरण में आये तो उसकी रक्षा करना ही धर्म है—यह बात राम ने कपोत के दृष्टान्त के माध्यम से प्रतिपादित की—

श्रूयते हि कपोतेन शत्रुः शरणमागतः।
अर्चितश्च यथान्यायं स्वैश्च मांसैर्निमन्त्रितः॥
स हि तं प्रतिजग्राह भार्याहन्तारमागतम्।
कपोतो वानरश्रेष्ठ किं पुनर्मद्विधो जनः॥[47]

तात्पर्य यह है कि कपोत तो अकेला था—असहाय था तथा पक्षी था, राम तो ऐसे नहीं हैं। वह तो पुरुषश्रेष्ठ हैं तथा उनके अनेक सहायक भी हैं। कपोत का शत्रु व्याध

४३—**संकल्पसूर्योदय,** १०।१३
४४—रा०, यु०, १७।२९
४५—रा० यु०, १७।४६
४६—रा० यु०, १७।६७
४७—रा० यु०, १८।२४, २५

उसकी शरण में आया था, जिसने उसकी भार्या का वध किया था, विभीषण तो शत्रु नहीं मित्रभाव से शरण में आया है। कपोत ने धर्मबुद्धि से यदि ऐसे व्याध को शरण दी तो राम जैसे महापुरुष के लिए विभीषण जैसे निर्दोष व्यक्ति को शरण न देने का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता। इसके अनन्तर कण्डु की गाथा के माध्यम से राम ने यही प्रमाणित किया है—

ऋषेः कण्वस्य पुत्रेण कण्डुना परमर्षिणा।
शृणु गाथा पुरा गीता धर्मिष्ठा सत्यवादिना ।।
बद्धाञ्जलिपुटं दीनं याचन्तं शरणागतम् ।
न हन्यादानृशंस्यार्थमपि शत्रुं परन्तप ।।
आर्तो वा यदि वा दृप्तः परेषां शरणं गतः।
अरिः प्राणान् परित्यज्य रक्षितव्यः कृतात्मना।।
स चेद् भयाद् वा मोहाद् वा कामाद् वापि न रक्षति।
स्वया शक्त्या यथान्यायं तत् पापं लोकगर्हितम्।।
विनष्टः पश्यतस्तस्य रक्षिणः शरणं गतः।
आनीय सुकृतं तस्य सर्वं गच्छेदरक्षितः।।[48]

अर्थात् महर्षि कण्व के पुत्र महर्षि कण्डु ने प्राचीन काल में यह गाथा कही थी— यदि शत्रु भी शरण में आये और अञ्जलि बांधकर दया की याचना करे तो उसका वध नहीं करना चाहिए। शरण में आया हुआ शत्रु यदि आर्त हो अथवा दृप्त, उसकी रक्षा अपने प्राणों का परित्याग करके भी करनी चाहिए। यदि वह किसी भय, मोह, अथवा काम के कारण उसकी रक्षा अपनी शक्ति के अनुसार नहीं करता तो यह लोक-निन्दित पाप है। यदि शरणागत रक्षक के देखते हुए नष्ट हो जाय तो वह अरक्षित उस रक्षक के सारे पुण्यों को लेकर जाता है। इसके आधार पर राम का निष्कर्ष है—

एवं दोषो महानत्र प्रपन्नानामरक्षणे।
अस्वर्ग्यं चायशस्यं च बलवीर्यविनाशनम्।"[49]

इन सारी बातों को ध्यान में रखकर राम का संकल्प है—

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मीति च याचते।
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद् व्रतं मम।।[50]

गोविन्दराजीय टीका का कथन विशेष महत्त्वपूर्ण है। **याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति** में धर्म के प्रमाण गिनाये गये हैं—

श्रुतिस्मृतिसदाचाराः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः।
सम्यक् संकल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम्।।[51]

४८—रा० यु०, १८।३६। ३०
४९—रा० यु०, १८।३१
५०—रा० यु०, १८।३३
५१—१।७

टीका का कथन है कि इन प्रमाणों के आधार पर प्रमाणित होता है कि शरणागत-परित्राण ही धर्म है—

"वध्यं प्रपन्नं प्रतियच्छन्तीत्यादिना श्रुतिः। कण्डुगाथामुखेन स्मृतिः। कपोतादिना शिष्टाचारः। प्रतिपक्षनिरसनपूर्वकबलवदुपपादनेन स्वप्रियत्वं चैत्येवं चतुर्षु प्रमाणेषु प्रपन्नरक्षणरूपपरमधर्मविषयेषु दर्शितेषु सम्प्रति तत्र प्रमाणं पञ्चमं दर्शयति—सकृदेवेति।"[52]

"वध्यं प्रपन्नं प्रतियच्छन्ति" इस प्रकार प्रथम श्रुतिप्रमाण, कण्डुगाथा के द्वारा द्वितीय स्मृति प्रमाण, कपोत वृतान्त के द्वारा सदाचार, प्रतिपक्ष के निराकरण के द्वारा स्वप्रियत्व, तथा सकृदेव इस प्रकार पांचवें प्रमाण (समीचीन संकल्प के द्वारा धर्मचिकीर्षा) के द्वारा **रामायण** में भगवान् राम ने यह प्रतिपादित किया है कि शरणागत की रक्षा करना परम-धर्म है। इस प्रकार श्रीवैष्णव सम्प्रदाय में भगवान् को जो प्रणतार्तिहर तथा शरणागतवत्सल कहा जाता है, उसकी **रामायण** में बड़ी सुन्दर व्याख्या की गयी है।

शरणागत के आर्त और दृप्त भेद—

प्रपन्न के दो भेद होते हैं—आर्त और दृप्त। दृप्त प्रपन्न वह है जो वर्तमान देह रहे किन्तु अगला जन्म न हो ऐसा सोचता है। आर्त प्रपन्न वह है जो वर्तमान देह के प्रति भी आसक्त नहीं होता। अर्थात् दृप्त प्रपन्न जब तक वर्तमान देह है तब तक मोक्ष की प्राप्ति में विलम्ब सहने को तैयार है किन्तु आर्त प्रपन्न इस प्रकार के किसी विलम्ब को सहने को तैयार नहीं होता। श्री वात्स्य वरदाचार्य ने अपने ग्रन्थ **प्रपन्नपारिजात** में यही बात इन शब्दों में कही है—

यस्य देहान्तरकृते शोको दृप्तः स उच्यते।
यस्तु प्रारब्धदेहेऽपि शोचत्यार्तः स उच्यते॥
आर्तदृप्तविभागेन प्रपत्तिरियमुच्यते।[53]

इस विभाग की ओर भी **रामायण** में इन शब्दों में संकेत किया गया है—

आर्तो वा यदि वा दृप्तः परेषां शरणं गतः।
अरिः प्राणान् परित्यज्य रक्षितव्यः कृतात्मना॥[54]

अर्थात् आर्त हो या दृप्त जो शरण में आ गया है वह शत्रु भी क्यों न हो उसकी अपने प्राणों को त्यागकर भी रक्षा करना धर्म है।

इस प्रकार शरणागति का सिद्धान्त, जो श्रीवैष्णव धर्म का सर्वस्व है, **रामायण** में अत्यन्त सुन्दरता के साथ स्वल्प शब्दों में निरूपित हुआ है।

५२—रा० यु०, गोविन्द, १८।३३

५३—स्वरूपपद्धति।

५४—रा० यु० १८।२२

THE LANGUAGE OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA, by Yajan Veer, Inter India Publications, 105 Anand Nagar, Delhi–110035 (India). Pp. XVI+198. Price: Rs. 75.00, $ 15.

Since its publication by Roth and Whitney in 1856, the *Atharvaveda* has been subjected to various types of studies–interpretative, historical, religious and cultural; but its language has so far been awaiting a critical scrutiny. The book under review attempts, in ten chapters, a study of the language of the *Atharvaveda* dealing with all its important aspects including phonology, euphonic combination (*sandhi*), declension, conjugation, compounds, suffixes, syntax and accent. Though based mainly on the Śaunaka recension of the *Atharvaveda*, its author has also taken note of the linguistic peculiarities found in the Paippalāda recension. The book is rich in examples which, if properly arranged, could have considerably reduced its volume; but it is surprisingly lacking in a critical analysis, judicious judgement and careful conclusions. The author has given the impression as if the linguistic peculiarities illustrated were the sole possession of the language of the *Atharvaveda*, whereas they are, in most of the cases, common to the Vedic language in general and sometimes even to the Classical Sanskrit. He should have presented a comparative analysis of such peculiarities before making such assertions. In its arrangement, the book follows A. A. Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* and W. D. Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, leaving sometimes the reader in a fix to make out the exact traditional/Pāṇinian terms, especially in Chapters VII and VIII,

where the author should have better given the traditional/ Pāṇinian terms indicative of suffixes outside and terms employed, within brackets. The illustrations are many times wrong, or misleading. Thus, on p. 6 the Ṛgvedic words *viṣṭáp*, *dvā́r*, *púr*, *kakúd*, *más*, *puroḍā́ś* and *yā́man* are quoted in one breath, though *viṣṭáp*, etc., develop augment of *a* at the end and *yāman*, elision of *n* in the *Atharvaveda*; on p. 31, *páryenān* (*AV*, IX.2.5) has been quoted as an illustration of an exception to the rule that after the propositions *prá* and *párā*, *ena* changes its *n* to *ṇ*, though it is the result of an euphonic combination of *pári* and *enān*; on p. 33, the word *puṃścalī* has been quoted to illustrate the conversion of *m* into *visarjanīya*, though, according to Pāṇinian system *m* of *pum* does not change to *visarjanīya* all at once: the proper steps are *pum*+*calī*>*pu r* (*ru*)+ *calī* (cf. Pāṇini VIII.3.6: पुमः खय्यम्परे) >*puṃ r*+*calī* (cf. *ibid.*, VIII.3.4: अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः) >*pu ṃ ḥ*+*calī* (cf. *ibid.*, VIII.3.15: खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः) >*puṃ s*+*calī* (cf. *Vārttika*: संपुंकानां सो वक्तव्यः) >*puṃś*+*calī*>*puṃścalī* (cf. Pāṇini VIII.4.40: स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः) and not *pum calī*> *puṃ ḥ calī*>*puṃścalī* as indicated; on p. 177, *dévapatnī* (*AV.*, VI.118.3) figures as an example of genetively dependent determinative compound (*ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa*) where 'the first member gets an accent if followed by *patnī*': in fact, here the acute accent (*udātta*) is shifted to the first syllable of the first member (though the word *devá* has originally acute accent on its last syllable), because the compound *dévapatnī* is in the vocative case (cf. Sāyaṇa: हे देवपत्नी देवपत्न्यौ देवानां पत्न्यौ जायाभूते) and the accentuation is governed by the rule preserved in Pāṇini VI.1.198 (आमन्त्रितस्य च) and on p. 178, *nākaḥ* (*AV.*, X.10.11), *árasa*, *árasám* (*ibid.*, VI.138.3) and *súbheṣajam* (*ibid.*, II.3.1) are quoted as examples of the determinative compound (*tatpuruṣa*),

though they are examples of the possessive compound (*bahuvrīhi*). [नाकं:–नास्त्यकमसुखं यस्मिन् सः; अरंस–नास्ति रसो रेतो यस्मिन् सः, सम्बोधने–अरंस (cf. Sāyaṇa : (हे अरेतस्क शत्रो); अरसम्–नास्ति रसो रेतो यस्मिन् सः, तम्–अरसम् (cf. Sāyaṇa : (अरेतस्कम्......अकरमकार्यम्), सुभे'षजम्–शोभनं भेषजं यस्य यस्मिन्वास्तीति सुभे'षजम् (cf. Sāyaṇa : व्याधिनिवर्तनक्षममतिशयवीर्ययुक्तमसि; used of *Muñja*)]. Even in Chapter X (Accent), the author has adhered to the Roman characters in the examples, with the result that the grave (*anudātta*) and the circumflex (*svarita*) are nowhere traceable and distinguishable. At some places, no references have been given, e. g., pp. 3 (*ṚV*), 6, 7, 15, 88 (*ṚV*), 163 (*AV*), while at some places one comes across wrong references, e. g., pp. 6, where Pāṇini V.4.24 has nothing to do with the word *dhárma* ; 66 (*sū'mani* : *AV*., XI.8.14) ; 182 (*ādāya* : *AV*., XII.10.11). On pp. 4 and 20, the author could refer to the *Vārttika* प्रादूहोढोढ्येषैष्येषु in order to explain *prá*+*ūḍhaḥ*=*praúḍhaḥ* (*AV*., XV.15.4). On p. 135, he refers to Uṇādi IV.147 (हृभृवृसृस्तृशृभ्य इमनिच्) in connection with the formation of *mahimán*, *varimán* and *jániman*, though the *sūtra* does not apply to the first two words which are formed by adding the secondary suffix *imanic* (*iman*) to the stems *mahat* and *uru* (cf. Pāṇini V.1.122 : पृथ्वादिभ्य इमनिज्वा) and which, therefore, should not have been cited as examples under 'Primary Suffixes' ; and *jániman* is formed according to Uṇādi IV.148 (जनिमृङ्भ्यामिमनिन्) and not according to Uṇādi IV.147.

The language of the book is not chaste and lacks in idiom, e. g.,

p. 78 (ref. no. 110) : not once occurred (does not occur even once).

93 : accordingly (respectively).

115 : from a bad (from a bad one).

123 : Ṛgvedic language (*Ṛgveda*) ; There is no single example (There is not a single example).

127 : But when we compare it with the RV then definitely say.... (If we compare it with the *ṚV*, we find that....).

160 : The rathah of the Indra (The chariot of Indra).

166 : On the other hand (In other words ; or).

167 : precedes by (is preceded by) ; 173 : preceding by (preceded by).

167 : two compound words (two members of a compound word).

169 : when the compound words are separated (when the members of a compound word are separated).

174 : Although .., even though their .. (Although .., their ..).

178 : A possessive compound is constructed by the negative (*nañ*) or by *su*, gets an accent on the final syllable (A possessive compound, formed with the negative (*nañ*) or with *su*, gets the accent on the final syllable).

182 : lines 28-29 : Incomplete sentence.

[The expressions suggested are given above within bracket.]

The book contains many errors, for which a Corrigendum ought to have been given at the end, e. g., wearing (bearing, p. V), Māṇdukī (*Māṇḍukī*, p. XIII), Foot Note (Footnote, p. XIII), Paśpaśah, Nighantu, Pariśiṭa, kaumudi, Worterbuch, Uttrarācika (*Paspaśa, Nighaṇṭu, Pariśiṣṭa, Kaumudī, Wörterbuch, Uttarārcika*, p. XIV), Varṇratna, -Ved (*Varṇaratna, -Veda*, p. XV), while (which, p. 11, line

12), IInd (II, pp. 17, ref. no. 15 ; 94, 95, 97, 98, 111, 112), Yāsk (*Yāskīyā*, p. 17, ref. no. 23), no where (nowhere, p. 21), out (to, p. 22, line 30), pary, anayam (*pari, anyam*, p. 24, line 17), ṅ found (*ṅ* is found, p. 26, line 23), sum (*sam*, p. 29, line 14), Visharjanīya (visarjanīya, p. 36, line 10), Śānkh-yāyan, Āśvalāyan, Āpastamb, Dharm, Śrot, Samṛti (Śāṅkhā-yana, Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba, Dharma, Śrauta, Smṛti, p. 46, ref. no. 16), paspaśa-ānik (*Paspaśa-Āhnika*, p. 52), composition (compound, p. 57), ā'ha (*áha*, p. 66), tīsráḥ (*tisráḥ*, p. 71), samprasāraṇ (*samprasāraṇa*, p. 72), Āchārya, Grassman, ṣas (Ācārya, Grassmann, *ṣaṭ*, p. 73), Sāyana's (Sāyaṇa's, p. 89, ref. no. 15), IIIrd (III, pp. 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 111, 112, ref. no. 15), IIIrd (III, pp. 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98 111, 112, 113), tiṣṭ (*tiṣṭh*, p, 93), got (get, p. 108), Ist (I, pp. 111, 113), Grasman (Grassmann, p. 120), There (Their, p. 126, line 20), infintive, These (infinitive, Such, p. 129), mentioned (mentioned that, p. 128), *yoúvanam* (*yaúvanam*, 147), pra-jāpati (Prajāpati, p. 154), Vārtik (*Vārttika*, p. 155, ref. nos. 19-21, 33 ; 165, ref, no. 5 ; 186, ref. no. 29 ; 187, ref. no. 50), sap (*śap*, p. 159), circumfiex, pātho (circumflex, pāṭha, p. 166), abstraction, latter (obstruction, letter, p. 170), farm (form, p. 172), through (though, p. 174), *svaragám* (*svar-gám*, p. 176), *púruṣ-* (*púruṣa-*, p. 178), three (third, pp. 180, 181), *saphurati* (*sphurati*, p. 180), remains accented, word at (remains accented on the first syllable, word occurs at, p. 183, last line), hymn (*mantra*, p. 184), *up* (*upa*, p. 185), Kaiyaṭ, Pradipa (Kaiyaṭa, *Pradīpa*, p. 186, ref. no. 23), Mor-genlannischen (Morgenländischen, p. 194). Sanskrit words are not properly transliterated in the Bibliography.

Had the study been done on the lines of linguistics and with a comparative outlook, it could be more scientific and useful.

DR. MAAN SINGH

Himachal Pradesh University,
Simla-5.

A DICTIONARY OF THE VEDIC RITUALS. by Chitrabhanu Sen, Concept Publishing Company, 65-F, Anand Nagar, Delhi-110035 (India), 1978. Pp. 172+12. Price : Rs. 100-00.

Vedic rituals found so exhaustive a treatment in the *Brāhmaṇas* that it was impossible to bear all the details in mind and it was, therefore, thought necessary to summarize and systematize the rules for practical use of the priests ; and consequently there emerged the *Kalpa*-literature (Cf. Viṣṇumitra's *Vṛtti* on the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* : कल्पो वेदविहितानां कर्मणामानुपूर्व्येण कल्पनाशास्त्रम् ।) comprising the *Śrauta, Gṛhya, Śulba* and *Dharma sūtras*, of which the *Śrautasūtras* deal with the *śrauta* and the *Gṛhyasūtras* treat of the *gṛhya* rituals, while the *Śulbasūtras* concern themselves with the construction of various sacrificial altars. The 21 chief Vedic rituals are classed into three *saṃsthās*, each embracing 7 rituals :

1. *Pākayajñasaṃsthā* : *aupāsanahoma, vaiśvadeva, pārvaṇa, aṣṭakā, māsi śrāddha, śrāvaṇā* and *śūlagava*.
2. *Haviryajñasaṃsthā* : *agnihotra, darśapūrṇamāsa, āgrayaṇa, cāturmāsya, nirūḍhapaśubandha, sautrāmaṇī* and *piṇḍapitṛyajña*.
3. *Somasaṃsthā* : *agniṣṭoma, atyagniṣṭoma, ukthya, ṣoḍasī, atirātra, vājapeya* and *aptoryāma*.

The *pākayajñas*, which are performed in the domestic fire (known as *gṛhya, āvasathya, aupāsana* or *smārta*) by a householder, are treated of in the *Smṛtis* and the *Gṛhyasūtras*, which, in addition to them, also deal with the *saṃskāras* and rites like the *sītāyajña*. The *havis* and Soma sacrifices, which are performed in the four *śrauta* fires, viz., *gārhapatya, āhavanīya, dakṣiṇa* and *sabhya* by a person with his wife living, form the subject-matter of the *Śrautasūtras*.

The descriptions of these *śrauta* and *gṛhya* rituals abound in technical terms, the exact knowledge of which is necessary for the real understanding of the rituals. *A Dictionary of the Vedic Rituals* by Chitrabhanu Sen attempts an interpretation of such terms. The Dictionary has two Parts. Part one (Śrauta-Section) deals with the technical terms occurring in the *śrauta* rites, while Part two (Gṛhya-Section) contains the ones figuring in the *gṛhya* rites. There are about 1901 main and sub-entries in these two Parts. The terms are arranged in an alphabetical order. For the *śrauta* rites, the author has drawn mainly upon the *Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba* and *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtras* ; and for the *gṛhya* rites, chiefly upon the *Āśvalāyana, Kāṭhaka, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśī, Gobhila* and *Kauśika Gṛhyasūtras*. The Dictionary offers the exact purport of a term, its different usages, and its correlation with other sacrificial concepts. As its purpose has been to show how an object was used in a sacrifice, how a particular action was performed or how a person behaved in a given ritual context (Introduction, p. 14), only such terms have been selected as are useful in understanding the nature of the Vedic sacrifice. It includes almost all significant terms of the Vedic rituals. The author has availed himself of the excellent dictionary entitled *Vocabulaire du Rituel Vedique* by Louis Renou and has taken notice of the views and opinions of other scholars on the subject.

Though the Dictionary does not claim to be very exhaustive, it gives the reader all necessary and important information in brief. It will be profitably read and consulted by all interested in the Vedic rituals. Shri Sen deserves our congratulations for bringing out such a nice dictionary.

DR. MAAN SINGH

Himachal Pradesh University,
Simla-5.

STUDIES IN PĀṆINI : TECHNICAL TERMS OF THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ, by H. P. Dvivedi, Inter-India Publications, 105, Anand Nagar, Delhi–110035 (India), 1978. Pp. X+208. Price : Rs. 65-00.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī,* the masterpiece of the great Indian grammarian Pāṇini, has been studied from various angles ; but the technical terms (*Saṃjñās*) occurring in it have not so far been analysed linguistically and semantically. A systematic study of these terms forms the subject-matter of the present book. With their varied forms and implications, the technical terms in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* deserve a thorough study in their various aspects. The present book embodies an investigation into their sources and development, an exposition of their technical implications, and a search for their corresponding terms in the subsequent systems of Sanskrit grammar. The author chooses to clear certain misunderstandings about the technical terms in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and assesses the correct position of its author, Pāṇini ; to give a glimpse of the rich grammatical tradition, at the culmination point of which Pāṇini stood ; to acquaint his reader with the aspect of Pāṇinian system which is *par excellence,* viz., the scientific arrangement of the materials of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the treatment of the materials of the language ; to throw light on some hitherto untouched aspects of the technical terms in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī,* e. g., the principles of their classification, antiquity, character and arrangement in the plan of the treatise ; to discuss the propriety of Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* in the light of modern researches on Pāṇini ; and lastly to pave road for future researches on the remaining elements of the structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (pp. 3-4). The study is spread up over eight chapters. Of them, Chapter 1 dilates upon the nature of *Saṃjñā* (a technical term) in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Chapter 2 concerns

itself with the classification of the technical terms in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and studies them dividing, from the point of view of denotation, into three classes: *śabdasaṃjñās, arthasaṃjñās* and *dharmasaṃjñās.* The *śabdasaṃjñās* such as *nadī, ghī, sarvanāmasthāna, āmantrita, tadrāja, pratyaya, matup,* etc., denote some specific word as their *saṃjñin,* while others like *vṛddhi, guṇa, saṃyoga, anunāsika, savarṇa, upadhā, apṛkta, hrasva, dīrgha, pluta, it, laghu,* and *guru* may appropriately be called *varṇasaṃjñās,* because they denote not words but letters; the *arthasaṃjñās* such as *vibhāṣā, samprasāraṇa, lopa, luk, ślu, lup,* etc., denote only the sense or meaning of a word as such; and the *dharmasaṃjñās udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* denote the quality of specific letters (*varṇadharma*). Chapter 3 discusses the Pāṇinian and pre-Pāṇinian technical terms like *pañcālāḥ, varṇāḥ, saṃyoga, sarvanāmasthāna, prātipadika, vṛddha, dhātu, pratyaya, avyayībhāva, tatpuruṣa, bahuvrīhi, dvandva, dvigu, kṛt, kṛtya, prathamā, dvitīyā, tṛtīyā,* etc., *sārvadhātuka, prathama, madhyama, uttama,* etc. The author concludes that all monosyllabic terms like *ṭi, ghu, bha,* etc., are Pāṇini's own creation, whereas all multisyllabic ones are borrowed by him from his predecessors (p. 101). It is suggested by the remarks of Jinendrabuddhi, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Nāgeśa (cf. *Nyāsa* on *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini I.1.42: पूर्वाचार्यैरेव प्रयोजनमन्तरेणापि महती संज्ञा कृता; *Śabdakaustubha* on Pāṇini I.2.45: महासंज्ञाकरणं प्राचामनुरोधात्; Nāgeśa on *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini I.4.100: प्रथममध्यमेत्यादि महासंज्ञाकरणन्तु प्राचामनुरोधात्; *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* on Pāṇini I.1.17: महासंज्ञाकरणं प्राचामनुरोधात्). Chapter 4 treats of the technical terms in non-technical sense, viz., *apṛkta, nadī, karma, karaṇa, sambuddhi, adhikaraṇa, it, vṛddha, upasarjana, guṇa* and *upapada.* Chapter 5 evaluates the arrangement of the technical terms in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*-plan, while Chapter 6

offers a comparison between the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* (*Asaṃjñākaṃ Vyākaraṇam*) and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from the point of view of technical terms; Chapter 7 acquaints us with the principles of *yathoddeśa* and *kāryakāla* and Chapter 8 with the character of the *Saṃjñāśāstra*. To the above chapters, the author has prefixed an Introduction and appended Conclusion, Bibliography and Index. Dr. Dvivedi has made a brilliant, systematic and comprehensive study of the technical terms figuring in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. A proper understanding of the Pāṇinian grammar necessitates an exact knowledge of these terms. Dr. Dvivedi's book will prove of immense help in this direction. It may be profitably read by students and scholars alike.

The book contains many printing errors, which ought to have been corrected in a Corrigendum, e. g., *Śabha*— (Śabda-, pp. VIII, 30), Bāl- (Bāla-, pp. 9, fn. 8 ; 11, fn. 16), अकृत्रिम् (अकृत्रिम, pp. 10, 11), दोहनार्थ (दोहनार्थं p. 12, fn. 20), प्रतीतपदार्थका (प्रतीतपदार्थकाः p. 13), -प्लुतानाँ-प्लुतानां, p. 16, fn. 33) सर्व (सर्वं, p. 20), कार्या (कार्यी p. 22), अविार्तिन्यः (आवर्तिन्यः,p. 22 fn. लिघुमादो (लघुभावो p. 23, fn. 55), मंगलार्थ (मंगलार्थां pp 24 fn. 25) पदानंपूर्वीज्ञान (पदानुपूर्वीज्ञान, p. 24), शेष, metrical, -गुण (शेषः, metrical, -गुणः p. 26), Bhandarkaar (Bhandarkar, p. 29, fn. 1), Bhandarkara (Bhandarkar, pp. 89 ; 92, fn. 22 ; 203), लघ्वर्थ (लघ्वर्थं, pp. 30, fn. 13 ; 66, fn. 195), आचार्या (आचार्याः, p. 30, fn. 13), Puruṣottam (Puruṣottama, p. 30, fn. 14), ह्रस्व, adeñ, separaed (ह्रस्व adeṅ, separated, p. 33), एङाँ (एङ्गाँ p. 33, fn. 110c), of (delete, p. 35, line 1), Kaiyṭa (Kaiyaṭa, p. 37, fn. 126), येनात्येन (येनान्त्येन,), p. 38), संज्ञ (संज्ञा, p. 40), पूर्वात्रार्योपहासार्थ..ऽव्रवोत् (पूर्वाचार्योपहासार्थं...ऽब्रवीत्, p. 41), prakriyāsarvasva (Prakriyāsarvasva, p. 41), संज्ञा (संज्ञा, p. 43), ष्ट्न (ष्ट्रन्, p. 49), पच, सुन्व (पच्, सुन्व्, p. 50), *kelimaR* (*Kelimar*, p. 52), प्राक (प्राक् p. 57), skillful (skilful, p. 58), in (been, p. 61, line 3),

iṣṭha N (*iṭṣthan*, p. 62), ह्तिम, इदम, अपत्यम (ह्तिम्, इदम्, अपत्यम् p. 66), कारणम (कारणम्, p. 67, fn. 200b), इष्ठम, उप्तम (इष्टम् उप्तम्, p. 73), liklihood (likelihood, p. 76), गृहयते (गृह्यते pp. 76, fn. 240 ; 112, fn. 17), स्यात (स्यात्, p. 80), सवृतता संवृतता, p. 80, fn. 254), havin, Taittiriy, Brahmins, a Udātta, hen (having, Taittirīya, Brāhmaṇas, an Udātta, when, p. 83), ar (as, p. 88), योंगानवगमात् patañjali (योगानवगमात् Patañjali, p. 89), authorty (authority, p. 90), agre (agree, p. 93), , चामन्त्यते (चामन्‍त्र्यते, p. 93, fn. 24), द्विघं (द्विधं, p. 94, fn. 26), *ti* (*ṭi*, pp. 98, 194), Candragomina (Candragomin, pp. 99, 167), -संज्ञा, सर्वेषांनामानिचातः (–संज्ञानि, सर्वेषां नामानि चातः p. 99), नदीमिश्च, नद्यां, नम्यादिद्यो, निनदीभ्यां (नदीभिश्च, नद्यां, नद्यादिभ्यो, निनदीभ्यां, p. 106) उपपदम (उपपदम्, p. 128, fn. 49), वाच्यम् (वाच्यम् p. 141, fn. 13), कर्मांदिभ्यो (कर्मादिभ्यो, p. 163, fn. 51a), Pāṇiai (Pāṇíni, p. 173, fn. 22). ऋते (ऋते, p. 181), Paribhāṣenduśekhar (Paribhāṣenduśekhara, p. 188, fn. 4), अदेङ् (अदेङ, p. 193), Paribhāṣenduśekara (Paribhāṣenduśekhara, p. 200), Vṛhaddevatā (Bṛhaddevatā, pp. 149, fn. 27 (ii) ; 202), Velvalkar (Belvalkar, p. 202), ṚK (Ṛk, p. 203). At some places Sanskrit words have not been properly transliterated, e. g., S. K. (Ś. K., p. VIII), Ramananda (Rāmānanda, p. 16, fn. 33), chhāyā (chāyā, p. 21, fn. 50), Śhiva- (Śiva-, p. 22, fn. 50), Astadhyayi (Aṣṭādhyāyī, pp. 28, 134, 167), Mahābhāṣyā (Mahābhāṣya, p. 37, fn. 126), Laghu Sabdendu Shekhara (Laghu-Śabdendu-Śekhara, pp. 55, fn. 168 ; 56, fn. 170 ; 65, fn. 191 ; 96, fn. 34), Tattvabodhini (Tattvabodhinī, p. 55, fn. 169), Nyayabhasya (Nyāyabhāṣya, p. 158, fn. 40), Asamjnakam Vyakaranam (Asaṃjñākaṃ Vyākaraṇam, p. 167), Ramacandra (Rāmacandra, p. 168, fn. 4), Chandravyakarana Sutrapatha (Cāndravyākaraṇa-Sūtrapāṭha, pp. 171, fn. 6 ; 175, fn. 23a), Chandra (Candra, p. 181, fn. 42), Paribhasendu Shekhara (Paribhāṣendu-Śekhara, p. 190, fn. 5), Samjna-Sastra (Saṃjñā-Śāstra, p. 192), L.S.S. (L.Ś.Ś., p. 193,

fn. 4). As some places there are no specific references, e.g., pp. 13, fn. 23 ; 40, fn. 137 ; 56, fn. 171 ; 70, fns. 207, 209, 214 ; 72, fn. 224 ; 73, fns. 225, 226 ; 74, fn. 228 ; 158, fn. 40.

Dr. Maan Singh

Himachal Pradesh University,
Simla-5.

THE PARIBHĀṢENDUŚEKHARA OF NĀGEŚA-BHAṬṬA, ed. by Harsh Nath Mishra with his own Sanskrit commentary called *Durgā* and Hindi annotation, New Delhi : Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series No. 26, 1978. Pp. L+68+782. Price : Rs. 75-00.

The term *Paribhāṣā* literally means an actual statement which surveys all round (*pari+bhāṣ*, cf. Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe : परितो व्यापृतां भाषां परिभाषां प्रचक्षते). *Paribhāṣās* are the statements by means of which grammatical rules are made adequate so that a suitable interpretation of them could be given with a view to arriving at the correct forms of words (लक्ष्यधर्मिकसाधुत्वप्रकारकाप्रामाण्यज्ञानानास्कन्दितबोधोपयोगिबोधजनकत्वं परिभाषात्वम्); or which makes grammatical rules adequate which otherwise are not so (अनियमे नियमकारिणी परिभाषा). They have a threefold purpose to serve : (i) They help the interpretation of the rules of Pāṇini. (ii) They decide the priority of the application of such rules as come in conflict with other rules in spite of Pāṇini's general dictum विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (I.4.2) which has to be set aside at many places in order to arrive at the desired forms of words (cf. *Paribhāṣā* 39 : (पूर्वपरनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानामुत्तरोत्तरं बलीयः). (iii) They modify

the sense of Pāṇini's rules in such a way as makes it easy to arrive at correct forms of words by avoiding the incorrect ones.

Among the *Paribhāṣā-* works, Nāgeśabhaṭṭa's *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* occupies a unique position. This work speaks volumes of the vast and profound scholarship of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa in the field of Sanskrit Grammar so much so that he is universally acknowledged as the final authority on the *Paribhāṣās*. The wide popularity of the work is evident from several commentaries written on it, which are above thirty in number. Some of the commentaries are composed in Navya-Nyāya style with scholastic discussions and are intelligible only to the experts who are familiar with the terminology of Navya-Nyāya, while others offer an explanation only for the pithy stiff sentences of the text, or spot out only the important topics and give a gist of passages. A simple, lucid and comprehensive commentary has been a long-felt want. Dr. Harsh Nath Mishra has done a great service to the students of the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* by providing them with a Sanskrit commentary entitled *Durgā,* and a similar Hindi commentary which is the first of its kind. Diving deep into the mind of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, Dr. Mishra has intimated us of the intricacies of his thoughts and offered a very judicious, vivid and scholarly annotation for the terse and intricate text of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa. In his excellent critical Sanskrit and Hindi commentaries, Dr. Mishra, like Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe in his *Gadā* or *Kāśikā,* has traced to their sources the views of other grammarians referred to in the text by such words as अन्ये, परे, वृद्धाः and केचित् (except on pp. 127, 128) as well as the textual allusions by words like अन्यत्र (except on pp. .446, 474, 620, 634, though indicated by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe). In

order to elucidate a grammatical problem involved or a solution offered, he has elaborated the illustrations given in Nāgeśabhaṭṭa's text. He has availed himself of other commentaries and *Paribhāṣā*-works in writing his critical commentaries. Dr. Mishra has given a detailed Introduction, in which he dilates upon the definition and nature of a *Paribhāṣā,* deals with the kinds of *Paribhāṣās,* offers a succinct account of the *Paribhāṣā*-works and their writers, and introduces his readers with the commentaries on the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara.* The value of this edition is further enhanced by the four apendices, the first of which acquaints us with the sources of the *Paribhāṣās* occurring in the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (as in K. V. Abhyankar's edition with the *Tattvādarśa* by Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar, Bhandarker Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1962, pp. 41-46) ; the second gives Puruṣottamadeva's text on *Paribhāṣās ;* the third and the fourth constitute indices respectively to the works and authors and to the passages from the *Mahābhāṣya* and Kaiyaṭa's gloss thereon referred to, or quoted in the volume. Dr. Mishra has thus brought out an excellent edition which is certain to find favour with students and win appreciation from scholars.

The volume should have contained a corrigendum for the errors, which have crept in at several places. In the Introduction, one comes across such errors as ब printed as व (pp. 17, fn. 3, 23, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37; 62, fn. 1; 63, fn. 1, 3; 68), यणु (यण्, p. 11), यणृ (यण्, p. 12), टस (टस, p. 12), कौटि (कोटि, p. 12), हस (इस, p. 13), अन्तरङ्ग (अन्तरङ्ग p. 14), प्रगट (प्रकट pp. 16, 17, 18, 27, 66, 67), सीरदे (सीरदेव, p. 16, fn. 4), आगत्या (अगत्या, p. 17), भाषाकार (भाष्यकार, p. 21), कोन (कौन, p. 24), व्थाख्या (व्याख्या, p. 26), मुस्किल (मुश्किल, p. 30), उत्पन (उत्पन्न, p. 31), भाषातत्वविवेक (भाषातत्त्वविवेक,; p. 36), महत्व (महत्त्व, p. 37), अयं (अर्थ,

p. 45), व्यपदेशिवदेकस्रिन् (व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्, p. 49), शास्त्रार्त्रकला (शास्त्रार्थकला, p. 55, fn. 2), के (है, p. 58), कार्यं (कार्य, p. 62), अटपटापन (अटपटेपन, p. 64), सन्दमं (सन्दर्भ, p. 65), परिप्कार (परिष्कार, p. 66) and समफ (समझ, p. 67). Similarly there are errors in the text and commentary portion, e. g., त्र printed as व (pp. 12, 47, 244, 337, 366, 413, fn. 1, 541), माडो (माङो p. 52), व्यतीहारे (व्यतिहारे, p. 53), मोटापन (मोटेपन, p. 69), दर असल में (दर असल, p. 70), निर्दिृश्यमानस्य (निर्दिश्यमानस्य, p. 89), सम्यन्ध (सम्बन्ध p. 89), वृत्रस्तत्र (वृक्षस्तत्र, p. 93), सीयुट (सीयुट्, p. 127), इहां (यहाँ p. 199), भाय्ये (भाष्ये, p. 209), चावं (चार्थं, p. 211), पटिप्यति (पठिष्यति, p. 237), वुद्भ्यः (वृद्भ्यः p. 248), तत्वम् (तत्त्वम् p. 251), आँटा (आटा, p. 252), सावित्त (सावित, p. 266), कैपट (कैयट, p. 269), वैयाकारण (वैयाकरण, p. 293), प्रगट (प्रकट, p. 294), अम्तरङ्गानपि (अन्तरङ्गानपि, p. 336), शास्त्रप्रवृत्ति (शास्त्रप्रवृत्ति, p. 381), परिभापा (परिभाषा, p. 474), कुम्भं (कुम्भं p. 564). In the Introduction, on p. 66 no number has been given in the body for footnote 1, while on 67 there is no footnote for no. 1. The proverb "Time and tide wait for none" has been changed to "Time and tide do not come again" (pp. 457-58)! No list of abbreviations has been furnished, though abbreviations have been used at some places (Introduction, pp. 16 fn., 45 fn., 46 fn., 47 fn., 49-53, 53 fn.; text of the Sanskrit commentary, pp. 434, 702, 703, 705, 717, 722, 725, 729, 732, 737).

DR. MAAN SINGH

Himachal Pradesh University,
Simla-5.

MAMMAṬA'S KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA (I-VI) WITH SĀRADĪPIKĀ OF GUṆARATNAGAṆI: Ed. by Dr. T. S. Nandi, Gujarat Univertity, Ahmedabad-9, pp. XI+408.

Among the few unpublished commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* which were published in recent years by diffe-

rent institutions the present text with its commentary, the *Sāradīpikā*, corroborates the famous saying by महेश्वर भट्टाचार्य

काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे
टीकास्तथाप्येष तथैव दुर्गमः ।

Soon after its appearance, every important scholar tried to expose the depth of his scholarship by writing a commentary on it which in the subsequent ages proved as testimony to the amount of scholarship he had. Such is also the attempt by Guṇaratnagaṇi whose commentary is named 'Sāradīpikā'.

The text which is under review runs upto VIth ullāsa.

Every commentary normally consists of three characteristics (1) being influenced by (2) being original and (3) possessing of influencing effect. The present text fulfils all the above three characteristics.

The present commentary is influenced by not less a commentary than the *Bālacittānurañjanī*, which was written in 1275 A.D. It is natural that near-contemporary commentaries be influenced by one another. In the case of the *Sāradīpikā* it appears apparently strange to note that it is influenced by the Bālacittānurañjanī which was composed fairly three hundred years earlier. The editor exposes vividly this very point all through the length of the text.

From the originality point of view, the author of the *Sāradīpikā* has to his credit some salient and solid scholastic expositions with regard to the

(1) definition of the uttama kāvya

(2) treatment of rasas

(3) varieties of हास्य and वीररस and the like.

Very often the slavish dependence of the *Sāradīpikā* on the *Bālacittānurañjanī* reveals the look of originality of the author.

It has not yet been observed that the *Sāradīpikā* has influenced the subsequent commentaries.

To all of his worth the editor has a slip of his pen too, that on page 7, line 12. He suggested to the reader a reading in square brackets (अलक्ष्यक्रमव्यतिरेकोऽलंकारध्वनिः) which should be read in lieu of the original reading लक्ष्यक्रमव्यतिरेकोऽलंकारध्वनिः His suggestion is not based on the norms of the ध्वनि theory because all the alaṅkāras fall under the संलक्ष्यक्रमध्वनि category. Only रस is the अलक्ष्यक्रमध्वनि None else. Hence his slip.

But for this, the editor deserves all appreciation for the care that he has taken and the labour that he has put in presenting the text of the commentary in a faulteess and well edited manner.

Dr. Goparaju Rama

Ganganatha Jha K. S. Vidyapeetha,
Allahabad.

THE BHĀVAPRAKĀŚANAM (ŚĀRADĀTANAYA), ed. Madan Mohan Agrawal, Published by Smt. Usha Agrawal c/o. Radhakrishna General Store, Chowk Bazar, Sadabad (Mathura), Pin : 281306, November 1978. Pp. 41+623. Price : Rs. 50-00.

The *Bhāvaprakāśana* by Śāradātanaya (composed between 1175–1250 A.D.) represents a compendium of all ac-

tivities of the writers on literary criticism from Bharata down to Kṣemendra in the 11th century A.D. ; together with a succinct account of the allied subjects like music and dance, and an account of their origin and development. Śāradātanaya supplies valuable data regarding the views and opinions held by his predecessors including the authors before Bharata as well as the more well-known authors who flourished after him. The value of his *Bhāvaprakāśana* is further enhanced by the fact that it mentions a large number of dramas and poems composed by eminent writers as examples of the different kinds of *rūpakas* and *uparūpakas* which must have been popular in his time but could not come down to us surviving the ravages of time. Though a work of importance, surprisingly enough this treatise on *rasa, śābdabodha* and dramaturgy, could not arrest the attention of the Sanskrit commentators. There is no authentic translation of this work in any language and the Hindi translation by Dr. Madan Mohan Agrawal is the first of its kind. Dr. Agrawal's Hindi translation is based on the text edited by Yadugiri Yatiraja Swami of Melkot and K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Siromani (Baroda : Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. 45, 1930 ; rpt. 1968). In the Introduction, Dr. Agrawal gives the biographical details of Śāradātanaya (birthplace and life, date, personality and works) and deals with the contents of the *Bhāvaprakāśana*, Śāradātanaya's contribution to the tradition of dramaturgy, *uparūpakas* and *Ācāryas* on dramaturgy quoted in the *Bhāvaprakāśana*. For these topics he draws upon the Introduction to the edition in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. On Subandhu he gives only very scanty information (for details vide Maan Singh : *Subandhu and Daṇḍin*, Delhi : Mehrchand Lachhmandas, 1979, Appendix I : Subandhus Known to Sanskrit Literature, pp. 475-78). Dr. Agrawal also offers valuable infor-

mation about the dramatic compositions mentioned by Śāradātanaya. He has given copious notes to his translation (pp. 459-544), in which he has given the full text of the Sanskrit|Prakrit verses cited as illustrations by Śāradātanaya (the full text of such verses is already available in an Appendix to the edition in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, pp. 315-26) with Hindi translation and offered explanation and illustrations for technical terms. He has also added the pictures of the postures in dance (pp. 547-60 ; for which the present reviewer should like to refer his readers to the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* Vol. I, Baroda : Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. 35, 2nd ed. 1956, Chapter IV, pp. 84-206).

The volume has been made useful in all respects. There are, however, some printing errors for which one might expect a corrigendum, e. g., .उन्नत (उत्पन्न Int., p. 5), भादप्रकाशन (भावप्रकाशन Int., p. 36, fn. 9), सम्पत्ति (सम्प्रति Int., p. 40), अमिघा अमिघेय (अमिवा अभिधेय p. 206), तद्वान (तद्वान् p. 232), विद्वान (विद्वान् p. 286), छै (छः, छह p. 460), काव्यालंकार ४, ३–४ (काव्यालंकार ४, ३.४) पाण्डे (पाण्डेय p. 561). Diacritical marks have not been used on Sanskrit words transcribed into Roman script on pp. 475, 488, 513, 562, 563. There is no list of abbreviations, though a few have been used (p. 503 ; obviously on the analogy of the edition in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Appendix, p. 316).

DR. MAAN SINGH

Himachal Pradesh University,
Simla-5.

SAṂSKṚTA-ŚODHAPRAKRIYĀ EVAṂ VAIDIKA ADHYAYANA, by Krishna Lal, Vibhuviabhavam, Viśvanīḍa, E.–937, Sarasvatīvihāra, Post Office : Shakuṛ Ḅasti, Delhi–110034. Pp. 100. Price : Rs. 12-00.

Dr. Krishna Lal, who is well-known in the field of Vedic studies for his excellent book *Gṛhya-Mantra aura Unakā Viniyoga* (Delhi : National Publishing House, 1970), has written the book under review chiefly to offer guidance to the students who are standing on the threshold of Vedic studies and research. The edifice of the book is raised on five chapters *(Paricchedas)*, the *First* of which acquaints the reader with research methodology ; the *Second* shows the right and judicious approach in Vedic studies and research warning against the pitfalls ; the *Third* presents a *critical* analysis of the editions and translations of Vedic texts as well as of Vedic commentaries, lexica and critical studies ; and the Fifth dilates upon the characteristic features of Vedic culture. The author has many fresh ideas to offer to his readers. The book is a useful mannual for every student and researcher embarking on the study of Vedic literature.

DR. MAAN SINGH

Himachal Pradesh University,
Simla-5.

महात्मा गान्धी का नैतिक दर्शन डॉ० वेदप्रकाश वर्मा, इन्दु प्रकाशन, ८/३ रूपनगर, दिल्ली-७, १९७९, पृ० १४+२०० ।

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ के लेखक डॉ० वेदप्रकाश वर्मा उन नवोदित विद्वान् विचारकों में से हैं, जिन्होंने शैशव में ही नेत्रहीन हो जाने पर भी अपने अध्यवसाय द्वारा स्पृहणीय वैदुष्य अर्जित किया। आप विगत बारह वर्षों से दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय में दर्शन विभाग में व्याख्याता हैं। **"नीति शास्त्र के मूल सिद्धान्त"**, **"डेविड ह्यूम का दर्शन"** एवं **"समकन्टेम्पोरेरी मैटा-एथिक थ्योरीज"** आदि आपके महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ दार्शनिक जगत् में सुविदित हैं।

प्रस्तुत समीक्ष्य ग्रन्थ **महात्मा गाँधी का नैतिक दर्शन** आपकी महत्त्वपूर्ण नवीन प्रकाशित रचना है। ग्यारह अध्यायों में विभक्त प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में महात्मा गान्धी पर भारतीय एवं पाश्चात्य चिन्तन परम्परा का प्रभाव, अहिंसा-सत्य-अस्तेय-अपरिग्रह-ब्रह्मचर्य और सन्तति-निग्रह, अस्पृश्यता निवारण और वर्णधर्म अन्य पांच महाव्रत, धर्म और नैतिकता, सत्याग्रह, नारी की सामाजिक स्थिति एवं वर्तमान युग में महात्मा गान्धी के नैतिक दर्शन की उपादेयता, विषयों पर गान्धी जी द्वारा लिखित ग्रन्थों अथवा निबन्धों से उद्धरण प्रस्तुत करते हुये उनके (महात्मा गान्धी के) विचारों को प्रामाणिक रूप से प्रस्तुत करते हुये उनकी निष्पक्ष समीक्षा की गई है। इस समीक्षा के सन्दर्भ में विद्वान् लेखक ने प्राचीन भारतीय अथवा पाश्चात्य विद्वानों के नीति शास्त्र अथवा मनोविज्ञान विषयक सिद्धान्तों को प्रमाण के रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हुये महात्मा गान्धी की मान्यताओं की नैतिकता एवं व्यावहारिकता की समीक्षा की है। इस क्रम में लेखक का प्रयत्न निरन्तर आग्रह रहित एवं तटस्थ बने रहने का रहा है एवं इसमें उसे पर्याप्त सफलता मिली है। महात्मा गान्धी के विचारों को प्रामाणिक रूप से समझने के लिये यह ग्रन्थ उपादेय है।

डॉ० वर्मा के अनुसार महात्मा गान्धी अहिंसा, सत्य, अस्तेय, अपरिग्रह एवं ब्रह्मचर्य को महाव्रतों के रूप में स्वीकार करते हैं। उनकी मान्यता है कि ये महाव्रत न केवल आध्यात्मिक उन्नति के लिये आवश्यक हैं, अपितु सामाजिक अभ्युत्थान के लिये भी इनका समान रूप से महत्त्व है। स्मरणीय है कि महर्षि पतञ्जलि के **योगसूत्र** में इन पांचों महाव्रतों को 'यम' नाम से स्वीकार करते हुये योग के आठ अंगों में प्रथम अंग के रूप में स्वीकार किया गया है, तथा इन्हें वहां सार्वभौम महाव्रत की संज्ञा दी गई है।[१] बौद्ध साहित्य एवं स्मृतियों में भी इनकी चर्चा हुई है। महात्मा गान्धी इन पांचों महाव्रतों के पालन को आवश्यक मानते हुये भी सत्य को साध्य तथा अन्य व्रतों को साधन स्वीकार करते हैं। इनके अनुसार अहिंसा सापेक्ष व्रत है, क्योंकि उनकी मान्यता है कि,"किसी अन्य उपाय के द्वारा हत्यारे को आश्रित व्यक्ति की हत्या करने से रोकने में असमर्थ होने पर जो व्यक्ति उस हत्यारे की हत्या नहीं करता, वह पुण्य के स्थान पर पाप करता है। ऐसा व्यक्ति अहिंसा का प्रयोग नहीं करता अपितु अहिंसा का मूर्खतापूर्ण अर्थ लगाकर हिंसा का प्रयोग करता है।" इसी कारण महात्मा गान्धी के मत में सामाजिक कल्याण के लिये निःस्वार्थ भाव से किसी प्राणी की हत्या करना हिंसा नहीं है। सत्य के सम्बन्ध में महात्मा गान्धी कोई समझौता करने को तैयार नहीं हैं, वे इसे अनिवार्य आचरण मानते हैं। वे स्वयं कहते हैं—"मैं सत्य के लिये अहिंसा का परित्याग कर सकता हूं।" इस प्रकार वे अहिंसा को सत्य का साधन मानते हैं। स्मरणीय है कि योगभाष्यकार व्यास इसके सर्वथा विपरीत अहिंसा को प्रधान साध्य और सत्य को भी उसका साधन मानते

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१. "अहिंसासत्यमस्तेयब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहाः यमाः। ते च जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नाः सार्वभौमाः महाव्रतम्।" —योगसूत्र २.३०.३१

हैं। इसी कारण उनका कहना है—**एषा सर्वभूतोपकारार्थं प्रवृत्ता न भूतोपघाताय। यदि चैवमप्यभिधीयमाना भूतोपघातपरैव स्यान्न सत्यं भवेत्। पापमेव भवेत्। तेन पुण्याभासेन पुण्यप्रतिरूपकेण कष्टतमं प्राप्नुयात्। तस्मात् परीक्ष्य सर्वभूतहितं सत्यं ब्रूयात्,"** (**योगभाष्य** २.३०)। डॉ॰ वर्मा ने **महाभारत** से अनेक ऐसे उद्धरण (पृ॰ ५१) प्रस्तुत किये हैं जो महात्मा गान्धी के पक्ष से विपरीत पड़ते हैं, और उनके आधार पर उनके मत की प्रामाणिकता पर प्रश्न चिह्न लगाते हुये एक दार्शनिक के कर्त्तव्य का निर्वाह किया है।

अस्तेय और अपरिग्रह को महात्मागान्धी सत्य की भांति निरपवाद कर्त्तव्य मानते हैं, यद्यपि **महाभारत** एवं पाश्चात्य नीतिशास्त्रियों के उद्धरण के साथ ग्रन्थकार ने आपत्तिकाल में इनकी उपेक्षा को भी अधर्म नहीं माना है। अपरिग्रह के प्रसंग में डॉ॰ वर्मा ने महात्मा गान्धी के संरक्षकता के सिद्धान्त का प्रतिपादन करके उसकी समीक्षा की है।

ब्रह्मचर्य को भी महात्मा गान्धी अनिवार्य व्रतों में स्थान देते हैं। वे इसका अपवाद सन्तान प्राप्ति के लिये विवाह के वाद केवल एक बार ही उचित मानते हैं। इस प्रसंग में उनका स्पष्ट कथन है कि, "सन्तति के कारण तो एक ही बार मिलन हो सकता है, अगर वह निष्फल गया तो दुबारा उन स्त्री-पुरुषों का मिलन होना ही नहीं चाहिये।" (पृ॰ ६८) शेष समस्त जीवन उन्हें भाई-वहन की भांति रहना चाहिये। वे कहते हैं कि "विवाहित स्त्री-पुरुष एक दूसरे को भाई-बहन मानने लग जायें तो सारे झगड़ों से वे मुक्त हो जाते हैं।" (पृ॰ ६६) डॉ॰ वर्मा महात्मा गान्धी के इस अतिवाद के स्थान पर मध्यम मार्ग को ही प्रशस्त मानते हैं।

वर्ण धर्म का पालन महात्मा गान्धी अत्यन्त आवश्यक मानते हैं, उनकी यह भी मान्यता है कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को वंश परम्परा प्राप्त व्यवसाय का त्याग कभी नहीं करना चाहिये। किन्तु वर्ण धर्म का अनुसरण करने के कारण अथवा किसी वंश-विशेष में उत्पन्न होने के कारण कोई ऊंचा या नीचा नहीं होता, कोई अस्पृश्य या पूज्य नहीं हो जाता। डॉ॰ वर्मा के अनुसार अस्पृश्यता निवारण के लिये महात्मा गान्धी का दर्शन तो अत्यन्त प्रशस्त है किन्तु वर्ण धर्म अथवा वंश परम्परा प्राप्त व्यवसाय की अनिवार्यता तर्कसंगत नहीं है।

इसी भांति डॉ॰ वर्मा ने महात्मा गान्धी के नैतिक दर्शन सम्बन्धी सभी प्रसंगों में उनकी मान्यता को उनके ग्रन्थों एवं निबन्धों से उद्धरण देते हुये प्रामाणिक रूप से प्रस्तुत किया है। साथ ही साथ उन मान्यताओं को प्रमुख धर्मशास्त्रीय, नीतिशास्त्रीय, समाजशास्त्रीय प्रामाणिक आचार्यों के विचारों को समानान्तर रूप से प्रस्तुत करते हुये उन मान्यताओं की मनोवैज्ञानिक, सामाजिक एवं तार्किक कसौटियों पर परखने का जो प्रयत्न किया है, वह न केवल सफल एवं अपूर्व है, अपितु प्रामाणिक रूप से ग्राह्य भी है।

इन विविध विशेषताओं के कारण प्रस्तुत समीक्ष्य ग्रन्थ "**महात्मा गान्धी का नैतिक दर्शन**" गान्धी दर्शन, नैतिक एवं सामाजिक दर्शन के अध्येताओं के साथ ही सामाजिक क्षेत्र में साधनारत साधकों के लिये भी अत्यन्त उपादेय है। इस उत्कृष्ट रचना को प्रस्तुत करने के प्रसंग में लेखक और प्रकाशक दोनों ही बधाई के पात्र हैं।

डा० ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी

गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ
इलाहाबाद

वृत्तिसमुच्चय (प्रथम गुच्छक का प्रथम तथा द्वितीय भाग) डा० ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी तथा कुमारी इन्दु अवस्थी, (सं०-व्या०) इन्दु प्रकाशन ८।३ रूपनगर, दिल्ली, १९७७, १९७८ पृ० सं० २६२, १६०।

शब्द तथा अर्थ के सम्बन्धों को लेकर विचार करने की पद्धति के भेद से विचारों की अनेकता का शास्त्रों में उपलब्ध होना स्वाभाविक है। एक शास्त्र में भी सम्प्रदाय (गुरु परम्परा) के भेद से विचार में मतभेद उपलब्ध होते हैं। यथा वैयाकरण कौण्डभट्ट ने **वैयाकरणभूषणसार** में, शब्द और अर्थ के बीच बोधकता रूपा शक्ति को सम्बन्ध रूप में माना है और नव्य वैयाकरण नागोजि भट्ट ने बोधकता में गौरव रूप दोष दिखाकर वाच्यवाचक भावरूप से सम्बन्ध को माना है। बोधकता पदार्थ का परिष्कार करते हुए इन्होंने कहा है कि बोधकता से बोधजनकता विवक्षित होगी और उसमें अन्यथासिद्धिशून्यत्व तथा नियतपूर्ववर्तित्व रूप जनकता का लक्षण स्वतः सन्निविष्ट है और नियतपूर्ववर्तित्व घटक नियत पद व्यापकता का बोधक होता है। इस तरह बोधकतारूपा शक्ति में व्यापकता घटित लक्षण का समावेश गौरवाधायक होता है। इसी तरह "**सति तात्पर्ये सर्वे सर्वार्थवाचकाः**" कहकर लक्षणा की उपेक्षा तथा व्यञ्जना वृत्ति की स्थापना में तत्परता **परमलघुमञ्जूषा** आदि में नागोजि भट्ट ने दिखायी है।

नैयायिकों में भी अपने में मतैक्य नहीं है। किसी के मत में उक्त सम्बन्ध ईश्वरेच्छा रूप ही है तो किसी के मत में ईश्वरेच्छा के साथ अस्मदादि की इच्छा भी है।

मीमांसकों में प्रायः यह सर्व विदित है कि भाट्ट मत, प्रभाकर (गुरु) मत तथा मुरारिमिश्र का मत भिन्न-भिन्न ही है जो अन्विताभिधानवाद तथा अभिहितान्वयवाद आदि के जनक हैं।

अलंकार शास्त्र में भी इस विषय में पर्याप्त सामग्री उपलब्ध है। उपर्युक्त विभिन्न दर्शनों तथा दार्शनिक सम्प्रदायों का प्रभाव अलंकार शास्त्र के ग्रन्थों में देखा जा सकता है।

इस गम्भीर चिन्तन के प्रसंग में जिज्ञासु विद्यार्थी की कठिनाई स्वतः आँकी जा सकती है। पुरातन पाण्डित्य और आधुनिक प्रक्रिया का समन्वय करके व्युत्पत्तिवाद, शक्तिवाद तथा शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका आदि ग्रन्थों का मथन द्वारा नवनीत संकलन आज के सामयिक वैदुष्य का परिचायक है। इस दिशा में आदरणीय पण्डितराज शास्त्ररत्नाकर **वी० सुब्रह्मण्य शास्त्री का शाब्दतरंगिणी** जैसे ग्रन्थ का प्रणयन स्तुत्य प्रयास कहा जा सकता है। इसमें स्वनामधन्य गोकुल नाथ के शिष्य गिरिधर उपाध्याय तथा सर्वतन्त्र-स्वतन्त्र धर्मदत्त (बच्चा) झा प्रभृति आधुनिक चिन्तकों का परिष्कार सम्बन्धी बुद्धि विलास की आलोचना तथा क्रमवद्ध रूप से विषय का प्रतिपादन वस्तुतः श्लाघनीय है।

इसी दिशा में एक विशाल आयोजन का प्रारम्भ इस **वृत्तिसमुच्चय** के द्वारा इसके सम्पादक एवं व्याख्याकार सुप्रसिद्ध विद्वान् **डा० ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी** (प्रवाचक, गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, इलाहावाद) ने किया है, जो कई दृष्टियों से प्रशंसनीय है।

पहली बात यह है कि इस **वृत्तिसमुच्चय** रूप विशाल योजना के माध्यम से अध्ययनशील जिज्ञासु पाठक को शब्द और अर्थ के सम्बन्ध के विषय में सभी सामग्री एक ही जगह उपलब्ध हो जाएगी। विभिन्न ग्रन्थों में सन्दर्भ ढूँढ़ना नहीं होगा।

दूसरी बात यह है कि विद्वान् सम्पादक ने हिन्दी अनुवाद तथा आधुनिक रीति से व्याख्या के साथ मूलपाठ का सम्पादन किया है जो अपने आप में विशेष महत्त्व रखता है।

तीसरी बात यह है कि अनुवाद में अभिप्राय के अवगत कराने में जितनी शब्दावलियाँ जहाँ अपेक्षित हैं उस स्थल में उतनी शब्दावलियाँ प्रयुक्त हुई हैं शब्दों के प्रतिशब्द नहीं दिये गये हैं।

चौथी बात यह है कि इस वृत्ति समुच्चयात्मक विशाल योजना में उन ग्रन्थों का भी समावेश किया गया है जो विद्वानों के द्वारा किसी कारण से चिरकाल तक उपेक्षित रहे हैं। प्रायः यह बात विदित है कि साहित्यशास्त्र में जो प्रतिष्ठा या प्रचार-प्रसार **काव्यप्रकाश, रसगंगाधर** तथा **साहित्य दर्पण** आदि का हुआ है वह ख्याति आचार्य मम्मट के ही **शब्दव्यापारविचार**, मुकुलभट्ट की **अभिधावृत्तिमातृका**, अप्पय दीक्षित के **वृत्तिवार्त्तिक**, आशाधर भट्ट की **त्रिवेणिका** और **कोविदानन्द** को नहीं मिल पायी। यहाँ इस **वृत्तिसमुच्चय** के प्रथम भाग में उपर्युक्त तीन ग्रन्थ तथा द्वितीय भाग में दो ग्रन्थ यथाक्रम समाविष्ट हैं। इन ग्रन्थ पञ्चकों का भी अपना अलग महत्त्व है तथा अपना स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व है। इसे विद्वान् सम्पादक डा० अवस्थी जी ने समझा है और इन ग्रन्थों का संकलन तथा अध्ययन विद्वानों के समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया है।

इस विशाल आयोजन का संकल्पित प्रारूप इस प्रकार है।

(क) **वृत्तिसमुच्चय** के प्रथम गुच्छक के प्रथम भाग में—

(१) मुकुल भट्टकृत **अभिधावृत्ति मातृका,**

(२) मम्मटाचार्यकृत **शब्दव्यापारविचार** तथा अप्पयदीक्षित प्रणीत **वृत्तिवार्त्तिक** ।

(ख) उक्त ग्रन्थ के उसी गुच्छक के द्वितीय भाग में—

आशाधरभट्ट प्रणीत **कोविदानन्द** तथा **त्रिवेणिका** ।

(ग) उक्त ग्रन्थ के उस गुच्छक के तृतीय भाग में—

(१) शालिकनाथ मिश्र की **वाक्यार्थमातृकावृत्ति**

(२) वाचस्पति मिश्र का **तत्त्वबिन्दु** तथा

(३) पार्थसारथि मिश्र का **वाक्यार्थनिर्णय**

(घ) उक्त ग्रन्थ के उस गुच्छक के चतुर्थ भाग में—

(१) श्री मौनिकृष्णभट्ट की **वृत्तिदीपिका**

तथा (२) चन्द्रकान्त विद्यालंकार की **शब्दमंजरी**

इस समुच्चय के द्वितीय, तृतीय, चतुर्थ तथा पञ्चम गुच्छकों में यथाक्रम मीमांसा, न्याय, व्याकरण तथा अलंकारादि शास्त्रों के सूत्रकाल से लेकर उत्तर काल पर्यन्त का समस्त चिन्तन ऐतिहासिक एवं सैद्धान्तिक क्रम से विस्तृत भूमिका के साथ प्रस्तुत किया जायेगा।

डा० किशोरनाथ झा

गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ,
इलाहाबाद

परमार्थपथिक (महामण्डलेश्वर स्वामी भजनानन्द सरस्वती-अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ) (सं०) डा० भगवती प्रसाद सिंह, परमार्थनिकेतनम्, स्वर्गाश्रम:, ऋषीकेश ।

सन्तशिरोमणे: श्री १००८ स्वामी भजनानन्द-सरस्वतीमहाभागस्य षण्णवतितमस्य जन्मदिवसस्यावसरेऽभिनन्दनग्रन्थतया प्रकाशित: समर्पितश्चायमभिनन्दनग्रन्थ: **परमार्थपथिक**नाम्नाऽभिहितोऽपि वस्तुत: परमार्थकपथिकपाथेयभूतमिति। अत्र संकलिता: आध्यात्मसाधनायां प्रेरणाप्रदा: निबन्धा: संस्मरणानि वा एकत्रामुं साधकेभ्य: उपादेयतां साधयन्ति अपरत्रात्रैव संकलिता: दर्शनविषयका: शोधनिबन्धा: इमं विद्वद्भि: विचारकैश्चावश्यं पठनीयं प्रतिपादयन्ति।

समीक्ष्यमाणोऽयं ग्रन्थः खण्डद्वये विभाजितः। द्वावपि च खण्डौ पुनः त्रिषु त्रिषु अध्यायेषु विभाजितौ स्तः। तत्र प्रथमे खण्डे दर्शनविषयकाणां निबन्धानां संग्रहोऽस्ति। तत्रापि प्रथमेऽध्याये सांख्य-योग-न्याय-वैशेषिक-वेदान्त-तन्त्र-भाषा-दर्शनेषु-विवेचितानां तत्त्वानां भक्तितत्त्वस्य च विवेचनं सुप्रसिद्धैः दार्शनिकैः कृतमस्ति। द्वितीये चाध्याये प्रायशः समेषामपि भारतीयानां नानक-कबीरप्रभृतीनां सिद्धानां महापुरुषाणामाध्यात्मिकीं दृष्टिमवलम्ब्य-आध्यात्मतत्त्वस्य साधनाविधेरुपासनापद्धतेश्च सुविदितैः साधकैः विद्वद्भिश्च कृतं विवरणं निबद्धमस्ति, येन अध्यायस्यास्य भक्तिसाधनाध्याय इति नाम सार्थकं भवति। अस्यैव खण्डस्य युगबोधनामके तृतीयेऽध्याये अद्यतनीनानां दयानन्द-विवेकानन्दारविन्दरवीन्द्रनाथटैगोरगोपीनाथकविराजप्रभृतीनां भारतीयानां डेकार्ट-बर्गसां कार्लमार्क्सलेनिनप्रभृतीनां पाश्चात्यदार्शनिकानां तत्त्वदर्शनजीवनदर्शनसम्बन्धि-मान्यतानां प्रस्तावपूर्वकं भारतीयजनजीवने तासामुपादेयता सुसमीक्षिताऽस्ति।

जीवनज्योतिर्विषयके द्वितीये खण्डेऽपि त्रयोऽध्यायाः सन्ति। तत्रप्रथमेऽध्याये स्वामिभजनानन्दचरणानां गुरुपादैः स्वामिएकरसानन्दमहोदयैः प्रवर्त्तितस्य दैवीसम्पन्मण्डलस्य तद्द्वारा कृतायाः लोकसेवायाश्च विवरणं मूल्यांकनं च कृतमस्ति। द्वितीये चाध्याये स्वामिभजनानन्दपादानां तपोमयस्य जीवनस्य तन्निर्दिष्टस्य साधनापथश्च विवरणं तज्जीवनदर्शनस्य च विश्लेषणं विहितमस्ति। तृतीयेऽचाध्याये स्वामिचरणानां जीवनविषयकाणि संस्मरणानि निबद्धानि यानि साधकेभ्यः प्रकाशपुञ्ज इव पथप्रदर्शकानि सन्ति। अत्रान्तिमेऽध्याये यैः स्वामिपादानां जीवनसंस्मरणानि लिखितानि तेषां सत्पुरुषाणामाचार्याणां विदुषां महात्मनां च वचांस्येव धार्मिकीमास्थां वहद्भिः साधकैः प्रमाणतयांऽगीक्रियते, तैरेव महापुरुषैः लिखितानि जीवनसंस्मरणानि स्वर्णे सुगन्ध इव केषां न चेतो हरन्ति।

ग्रन्थादौ स्वामिपादैः प्रायशो गीयमानानि गीतानि वा स्तुतिपदानि संकलितानि यानि कण्ठे एकावलीव ग्रन्थममुं सुशोभयन्ति।

यद्यपि **परमार्थपथिक** नामकोऽयं ग्रन्थोऽभिनन्दग्रन्थतया सम्पादितः तथापि "गौडपाद का अजातवाद, पञ्चदशी और स्वामी विद्यारण्य, श्रीमद्भागवत का ब्रह्मतत्त्व, महावाक्यविचार, कुलाचार की दार्शनिकता, अर्जुन की समस्या, न्यायपरम्परा में ईश्वर-सिद्धि, चित्त की अवस्थाएं एवं योग, दार्शनिक ईश्वरवाद का मूल, आलवार सूरियों का दिव्यप्रबन्ध, वल्लभाचार्य और प्रस्थानत्रयी, वज्रयानी सिद्धों का महासुखवाद, गीतादर्शन की महान् उपलब्धि, हजरतमुहम्मद का एकेश्वरवाद, अद्वैतवाद पर विज्ञानवाद का प्रभाव" प्रभृतयो निबन्धाः प्रमाणभूतैः दार्शनिकैः लिखिताः ग्रन्थममुं विशिष्टेषु दर्शन-ग्रन्थेषु प्रतिष्ठापयितुमलम्।

डा० ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी

गंगानाथझा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठम्
प्रयाग

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

1. DAVE, Kalubhai Durgashankar—

   Born 1914 at Jharia (Dhanbad) ; intensive training and specialisation in various branches of Sanskrit learning including Āyurveda, Sāhitya, Vedānta, Jyotiṣa, Vyākaraṇa and Dharmaśāstra etc., honoured by various learned institutions with varied—titles ; critical articles, commentaries upon Sanskrit texts ; poems in Sanskrit, Hindi, Gujarati ; presently settled as Government Medical Practitioner in Krupalu Bunglow, Bakrol Road, Vallabh Vidyanagar.

2. KALIA, Ashok Kumar—

   Born 1944 at Baundi Raja (Dist. Bahraich) ; M.A. 1963 from Lucknow University ; Ph. D. 1968 from Lucknow University on *Lakṣmītantra : eka dārśanika adhyayana ;* presently working in the Dept. of Sanskrit, Lucknow University. Publications : *Lakṣmītantra : dharma aur darśana ; Sudhābhojanam* and several research papers.

3. MAITY. S. K.—

   Department of History, Jadavpur University, Calcutta—32.

4. MISHRA, Yugal Kishore—

   Born 1945 at Shahpurpatti (Dist. Bhojpur) ; M.A. in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology from Patna University ; Ph. D. 1973 from Magadh University on *History of Aṅga*. Pub-

lications : *Socio-Economic and Political History of Eastern India* 1977 ; *The Heritage of India* (ed.) 1978 ; about 10 research articles ; presently working in the Dept. of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodhgaya.

5. OM PRAKASH—

Born 1942 at Allahabad ; M.A. 1963 in Ancient Indian History and Archaelogy ; Ph. D. 1967 on *Polity in the Purāṇas*. Publications : *Political Ideas in the Purāṇas* 1979 ; *Prācīna bhārata kā rājanītika itihāsa* 1972 and several research articles ; presently working as Reader, Dept. of Ancient History, Culture and Archaelogy, University of Allahabad.

6. SHARMA, MAHESH DUTT—

Born 1944 in Lohpath (Dist. Aligarh) ; Sāhityācārya 1977 from Sanskrit University, Varanasi ; Ph. D. 1972 on *Kāśikāvṛtti-Vaiyākaraṇa-Siddhāntakaumudyoḥ tulanātmakamadhyayanam ;* about 15 research articles. Presently working as Lecturer in Sanskrit, N.M.S.N. Dass (P.G.) College, Budaun (U.P.).

7. SHARMA, SUDARSHAN KUMAR—

Born 1935 ; M.A. 1958 in Sanskrit from Punjab University ; Ph. D. on *Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla—A Critical and Cultural Study ;* Publication : *Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Harṣacarita,* Essays on *Kālidāsa* etc. Presently working as Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, Rajindra Government College, Bhatinda (Pb.)—151001.

8. SINGH, MANN—

Born 1940 in village Todakalyanpur (Dist. Saharanpur) ; M.A. 1961 in Sanskrit from Agra

University ; Ph. D. 1966 on *A Critical and Comparative Study of Subandhu and Daṇḍin* from B.H.U. Publications : *Subandhu and Daṇḍin*, Delhi 1979, about 30 research articles and several reviews. Presently posted as Associate Professor in the Dept. of Sanskrit, Himachal Pradesh University, Simla—171005.

9. SINGH, Atul Kumar—

Born 1955 at Allahabad; M.A. 1976 from Allahabad University ; doing research work on *Ethical Ideas in the Śāntiparva of Mahābhārata* in the Dept. of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad.

10. SRIVASTAVA, Asharfi Lal—

Born 1936 ; M.A. 1966 from Lucknow University ; Ph. D. 1976 from Lucknow University on *Life as depicted in Sanchi Sculptures.* Publication : *Prā·īna Viśva kī sabhyatāyeñ* 1972 ; about 40 research articles on varied subjects such as *Cave paintings in the hills of Sanchi-Kanakhera and Nagaur, Rare Silver Coins of Candragupta—Kumāradevī Type* etc. ; Radio talks on Archaeological subjects. Presently posted in the Dept. of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, C.M.P. Degree College, Allahabad.

11. SRIVASTAVA, Brijesh Chandra—

Born 1942 in Dist. Unnao ; M.A. 1961 from Gorakhpur University ; Ph. D. 1974 from Kanpur University on *Sanskrit yamaka Kāvya kī paramparā mê mahākavi Vāsudeva kā sthāna ;* Publications : *Yudhiṣṭhira-Vijayam of Vāsudeva* ed. with Hindi Comm. 1968 ; *Caurapañcāśikā of Bilhaṇa, ed. with* Hindi Comm. 1970 ; *Rāvaṇārjunīyam of Bhaumaka,*

ed. with Hindi Comm. (in Press); *Tripuradahanam of Vāsudeva*, ed. with Hindi Comm. (in Press), and 2 research papers. Presently serving in D.A.V. College, Kanpur.

12. SULLEREY, Sushil Kumar—

Born 1942 at Ajaigarh (Dist. Panna); M.A. 1964 in Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology from University of Saugar; Ph. D. 1979 on *A Critical Study of Sculptures at Ajaigarh and Kālañjara* from the University of Saugar; written about 35 articles on various themes connected with ancient India. Presently working as Astt. Professor of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Government Sanskrit College, Raipur (M.P.).

13. THAKUR, Vijay Kumar—

Born 1952 in Darbhanga; M.A. from Patna University; Ph. D. on *Urban Life in Ancient India* (C. 600 B.C.–A.D. 500) from Bhagalpur University; written 20 research articles. Presently serving in P.G. Dept. of History, Patna University.

14. TIWARI, Anant Sharan—

Born 1951 in Deoria; M.A. 1970 Gorakhpur University; Ph. D. 1977 from Poona University on *Madhva and the Veda—A study of dvaita interpretation of Vedic Myth, Ritual and Philosophy*; written 4 research papers. Presently working as Lecturer in Sant Vinoba Degree College, Deoria.

15. TRIPATHI, Ram Prasad—

Born 1947 at Allahabad; M.A. 1969; preparing Ph. D. thesis on *Ministers in Ancient India* in the Dept. of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Allahabad University.

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गैर्वाणीगौरवग्रन्थमाला

गीर्वाणवाणीगौरवभूतप्रत्ननूतनलघुग्रन्थानां सङ्कलनम्

गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठशोधपत्रिकायाः
परिशिष्टम्

प्रथमं प्रसूनम्

त्रिलोकनाथमिश्रविरचितम्

दुर्मिलाशतकम्

सम्पादकः

डा० जगन्नाथ पाठकः



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चतुस्त्रिंशत्तमे भागे तृतीयचतुर्थाङ्कौ

Dr. Jagannatha Pathak ; born 1934 at Sāsārām ; Śāstrācārya 1957 from Banaras Hindu University ; M.A. in Sanskrit and Hindi from B.H.U. ; Ph. D. 1968 from B.H.U. on *Dhanapālakṛta tilakamañjarī kā ālocanātmaka adhyayana.*

Published works : *Dhvanyāloka-locana* (Hindi Comm.); edited *Jānarāja campū* by Kṛṣṇadatta ; *Jahāṅgīravirudāvalī* by Harideva Miśra ; *Padyaracanā* by Āṅkolakara Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa ; presently Lecturer in Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad.

त्रिलोकनाथमिश्रविरचितं दुर्मिलाशतकम्

डॉ० जगन्नाथ पाठकः

पाण्डुलिपिः

ग्रन्थस्यास्य पाण्डुलिपिर्द्वादशपत्रपरिमिताऽस्माभिः विहारराज्यान्तर्गतसहसरामवास्तव्य-पण्डितवलदेवपण्डितमहाशयानां गृहात् अधिगता। प्रत्येकं पत्रे एकादश पङ्क्तयः, प्रत्येकं च पङ्क्तौ एकचत्वारिंशत्परिमितानि द्वाचत्वारिंशत्परिमितानि वाऽक्षराणि सुपठानि देवनागरीलिपिनिवद्धानि सन्ति।

विभिन्नपाण्डुलिपिसूचीग्रन्थानां परिशीलने क्रियमाणे क्वचिदपि ग्रन्थस्यास्य पाण्डुलिपेः सूचनाऽस्माभिर्नाधिगता। अतः प्रस्तुतस्य संस्करणस्याधारभूता निर्दिष्टा पाण्डुलिपिरेव। अस्याश्च लिपिकर्त्रा विहारिणा १९३० वैक्रमाब्दे 'अग्रहणकृष्णपञ्चमीरवौ' प्रतिलिपिः कृतेति ग्रन्थान्ते तेन स्वाक्षरैर्निर्दिष्टम्।

लेखकः

शतकस्यास्य रचयिता वैद्यनाथात्मजस्त्रिलोकनाथमिश्र इति स्वयमेव ग्रन्थान्ते तेन निर्दिष्टम्—

"शाके शास्त्रेन्दुसप्तोदधिसुतमितिगे नाथनामान्तवैद्यो-
द्भूतस्त्रैलोक्यनाथो निखिलबुधजनान् सद्गमा(?)तापतप्तान्।
दृष्ट्वा वापीव्य(व्यं)धत्त प्रचुरहरिरसा दुर्मिलाबद्धतीर्थाः
सद्रत्नैर्नामभिस्तैः [र्] विमलमतिधृतैर्यानि लोकान् पुनन्ति॥"

अथ च पुष्पिका—

"इति श्रीसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिनि(नी)राजितचरणपङ्कजश्रीमिश्रवैद्यनाथात्मजश्रीत्रिलोकनाथमिश्रकृतं दुर्मिलाशतकं समाप्तम्।"

पूर्वमुद्धृते पद्ये 'शाके शास्त्रेन्दुसप्तोदधिसुतमितिगे' इत्यस्य १७१६ शकसंवदित्यर्थः। एवं १९०० वैक्रमाब्दे, अर्थात् १७९४ ख्रीस्तीयाब्दे ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रणयनं सञ्जातम्।

'न्यू कैटलागस कैटलागरम' ग्रन्थस्यावलोकनेन लेखकस्यास्य अपरं कृतिद्वयं विदितं भवति यथा,

१. कारक (or कारकार्थ) निरूपण or षट्कारक° (1163 अलवर, extra 264).
२. राधागोविन्दनाम्नि काव्ये व्याख्यासुधा.

लेखकस्य जन्मस्थानजन्मकालादिविषये न किञ्चिदस्माभिरुपलब्धम् । निर्दिष्टमपरं कृतिद्वयमद्यावधि नास्ति प्रकाशितमिति मन्ये ।

ग्रन्थपरिचयः

शतकमिदं वैराग्योद्बोधनार्थं कविना विरचितमिति स्वयमेवान्ते निर्दिष्टमेभिः शब्दैः—

इमा दुर्मिला दूतिका यस्य हस्ते कृता श्रीत्रिलोकेन नाथोद्भवेन ।
विरक्त्या सुसं(स?)ख्या युता मुक्तिरूपा नवीना वधूस्तस्य हस्तं गता स्यात् ॥

सखीरूपया विरक्त्या सहिता मुक्तिरूपा नवीना वधूरुपलब्धुं शक्यते दुर्मिलाशतकस्याध्ययनशीलेन जनेनेति कवेरभिप्रायः । (अत्र विरक्तेः सखीरूपत्वं मुक्तेश्च नवीनवधूरूपत्वञ्च कविना वैराग्यभावनोद्बोधनार्थं लिखिते काव्ये किञ्चिदिवानुचितं प्रतिभाति, शृङ्गारस्य वैराग्यतः सर्वथा भिन्नत्वात् विपरीतत्वाच्च) । काव्यं माध्यमतया प्रस्तूय भर्तृहरिणाऽपि वैराग्यशतकं व्यरचि संसारमसारं परिकल्पयता । किन्तु यथा भर्तृहरेर्जीवने घटनावशतो जगद्विषयं निर्वेदपरिगतं चेतः समजनि तथैव दुर्मिलाशतकस्य रचयितुरपीति तद्विषयकज्ञानाभावेन न किञ्चिद् वक्तुं शक्यम् । अत्र स्वयं कविरपि आत्मनः संसारसागरमग्नं चित्तं सम्बोध्य हरिभक्तिं प्रत्यनुरक्तं विधातुं प्रयतते । अतः सम्पूर्णतयाऽत्र स्वं मन एव वैराग्येन प्रभावितं विधाय हरिभक्तिं प्रत्युन्मुखीकर्तुं प्रयतते ।

सर्वथा वैराग्यमूले भक्तिकाव्येऽस्मिन् हरिभक्त्या क्वचिन्महापुरेण क्वचिन्नद्या क्वचित् सुधारसेन चाभेदारोपरूपरूपकालङ्कारसमाश्रयणं विशेषेण कविना कृतम् ।

छन्दश्चात्र दुर्मिलेति नाम । तल्लक्षणं, यथा—

वसुभिश्च रसैरथ दिग्भिरुदीरितसद्यतिका विहिता हि यदा
सगणाष्टकभूषितसच्चरणा जितदुर्नय दुर्मिलकेति तदा ।
फणभृत्कुलमङ्गलपिङ्गलनामकनागवरात् प्रथिता सुखदा
यशवन्त नराधिप गौडकुलोज्ज्वल तामवधेहि हृदेह सदा ॥

(चिरञ्जीवभट्टाचार्यविरचितवृत्तरत्नावल्या उद्धृतम्)

वस्तुतस्तोटकवृत्तस्य द्विगुणितं रूपमिदम् ।

पाण्डुलिपिरियं १९३० (षडधिकशतवर्षपूर्वं) वैक्रमाब्दे विहारराज्यान्तर्गतसहसरामवास्तव्येन पं० विहारिणा लिखितेति ग्रन्थान्ते निर्देशेनावगम्यते ।

त्रिलोकनाथमिश्र-विरचितं

कुर्मिलाष्टकम्

विषयानलतः पतिपुत्रकलत्रसमिन्धनसंज्वलितादमुतः
परिदग्धमहर्निशमेव मनो मम तिष्ठसि मूढ समादहतः ।
न भविष्यति तापविनष्टिरहो तटिनीतटिनीपतिसंवरतः
शृणु मद्वचनं च गमिष्यति ते तपनं हरिभक्तिमहारसतः ॥१॥

भवसागरमध्यगतो वनिताजनतामकरीगिलितोऽसि कथं
सुतबन्धुकलत्रमहोरगदंशनतापतपद्वलितोऽसि कथम् ।
सततं जननं मरणं च गिरिं गत एव पुनः पतितोऽसि कथं
हरिभक्तिसुनावमधिश्रित एव तर द्रुतमेव मृतोऽसि कथम् ॥२॥

न धनं न जनं न वनं करणं कलयामि नरे नृपतो भरणं
न पुनः कवितां वनितां सुमुखीं न च मुक्तिसुखं बहुशो गमनम् ।
न रमे परमे चरमेऽपि वयःक्रमणे भ्रमणे न ददे मननं
गरुडासनशङ्खगदाधरणीभरभृच्चरणं तु भजे शरणम् ॥३॥

कतिधा भ्रमता भवता वनिताधरबिम्बमधु प्रचुरं रसितं
विशताऽपि शिता रसिता विपुलं बहुलं मधुरं फलमाचषितम् ।
मधुरेक्षुरसोऽपि परः परतो घृतयुक्तपयोऽपि मुहुः कलितं
वद चित्त महाहरिभक्तिरसे मधुरत्वमहो न कुतोऽपि चितम् ॥४॥

सुतबन्धुकलत्रकदर्थनतः परिभाववशात् कतिधा रणिता
नगरे नगरे सुरटन् सुपठन् नृपतिं नृपतिं बहुधा चलिता ।
न कुतोऽपि गतोऽसि सुखं मम जि(जी)व ततोऽपि कथं च मुहुः कमिता
शृणु सम्प्रति रे हरिभक्तिमहापुरतो भवता वत सन्नमिता ॥५॥

धरणीरटनं भ्रमतः पठनं कठिनं विदुषां कलहे विहितं
रमणीवदनं विरहाय विधुद्युतिसंहरणं नयने ष(ख)चितम् ।
नृपसद्मनि मानविनाशकृते मम जीव पुनः पुनरेव गतं
सुखदं शुभदं त्रिदशालयदं हरिभक्तिनदीतरणं न कृतम् ॥६॥

विमना विषये कुटजे कुटजे रमते मधुपानकृते भ्रमरः
लभनेऽभिमतं न परं पतिते(तो ?)मधुपानकृते घटते सुखरः ।
न यतोऽपि ततोऽपि कुतोऽपि गतो न रतिं रणिता कमिता विधुरः
शृणु तिष्ठ मधुव्रत रे श(स)ततं हरिभक्तिसुधारसमत्ततरः ॥७॥

बहुदीनवचो वदता नयता दिवसान् बहुशो न रतिर्विहिता
जहता च समानमहो मम जीव कुमानकृते कतिधा न गता ।
पुनरौदरी(रि)की परिवृत्तिरियं च ततोऽपि यतोऽपि न पूर्तिमिता
वसती रिपुभी रहिता शठ रे हरिभक्तिपुरीह कुतो न कृता ॥८॥

विमुखे त्वयि नाथ परं सततं जननं मरणं शरणं कथितं-
सुमुखे पुरुषे भवतीह पुनर्बहु मुक्तिसुखं लभते लषितम् ।
अत एव परं विलपामि विभो न कदापि भवत्तप आचरितं
न नुतिर्न नतिर्न मतिर्विहिता कथमाशु भवेद् भवतो हि गतम् ॥९॥

करुणावरुणालय नाथ हरे मयि दाश(स)जने करुणा न कृता
न कृता त्वयि सम्प्रति संसृतिमध्यगते न रतिर्न धृतिर्विहिता ।
विहिता विषयेषु वनेषु मया भवदङ्घ्रियुगे न नती रचिता
रचिता च रतिः कुनृपे सुनृपे कुजने मम का च गतिर्भविता ॥१०॥

जननानि गतानि बहु(हू)नि विभो स्मरणानि कृतानि न ते विदितं
कलितं न मया भवतो हि गतं सकलेषु चितं मनसा न धृतम् ।
कथमद्य तरामि विना कृपया भवसागरभीमतरङ्ग ततं
विनयामि सुतारय नीरधितोऽत इमं भवतश्चरणे पतितम् ॥११॥

श्रवणं मननं स्मरणं न कृतं भवतो रटता विषये न हता
श्रुतिरर्थगता विफला मयि भाति ततः शमनीयपुरं भ्रमिता ।
यदि नैव समुद्धरणं भवतो मम तत्पुरतोऽपि न मे चलिता
चलिता च कथञ्चिदहो धरणीधर कासु कुयोनिषु वै भविता ॥१२॥

पुरतो भवतो रसतोऽपि मया नटता दिवसः परियापयिता
न सुतोऽपि विभूतियुतोऽपि कुतोऽपि नतोऽपि मया परिभावयिता ।
धरणीधर नाथ मुकुन्द हरे सुमति[ः]कुमतिः खलु कारयिता
विनयामि परञ्च भवानि विभो तव भक्तिमहारससाधयिता ॥१३॥

दिवशाः(साः)परियान्तु तवामलया कथया श्रतया सुरभावितया
सुखया हितया मुनिमानसया गतया बहुशः श्रुतिसेवितया ।
सनकादिमनोरतयाऽऽशु मया निजकिङ्करभक्तमनोधृतया
सकलं श्री(श्रि)तयामृतभावनया दयया भवता ततया नु तया ॥ ४॥

श्रवणे शृणुतां चरितं भवतो नयने तनुमेव विलोकयतां
यमुनातटराश(स)वने विलश(स)द्धरणौ चरणौ च सदा चलताम् ।
नटतां च तथा रसना भवदीयलश(स)न्नुतिमेव सदा कुरुतां
चरणे तव मुक्तिसदाकरणे नृहरे च मनःशिरसी नमताम् ॥१५॥

वपुरीश(ष?)मलप्रचुरं च मनः सततं सुतबन्धुकलत्ररतं
नयनं रमणीवदनद्युतिसत्सरसीतरणेषु सदा[ऽ]विरतम् ।
रशना दधिदुग्धरसाकलना श्रवणं रमणीमुखरागगतं
धरणीधर नाथ मुकुन्द मृषा जनुषा पुरुषाकृतिना विगतम् ॥१६॥

जननी जननं परिनिन्दतु दुर्वचनं सततं वदतु प्रचुरं
जनकोऽपि हरे नृहरे बत मामलसं विलसं भुवि धूर्ततरम् ।
परिभर्त्सनमेव जनोऽपि तथा कुरुतां वदतु प्रश(स)भं न नरं
तव भक्तिमहारसमत्तमना विलुठामि नटामि रटामि परम् ॥१७॥

रजनी सुकलत्रसुखाहरणे गमिता सुतलालनतो दिवसाः
नटधूर्तविदूषकसङ्गवसे(शे)न मया विहिता नमदाविरलाः ।
क्षणभङ्गुरदेहसुखादिकृते सुगृहा रचिता नृहरे सरलाः
चरणौ सुखसम्मतिदौ हरणौ विपदां भवतो न धृतौ मनसा ॥१८॥

अमरेशदिनेशगणेशमहेशजलेशनिशेशभवेशमुखाः
भवदङ्घ्रिसमीपधरातलमध्यगता विनटन्ति सदा सुमुखाः ।
तव पादसरोजनता विरता नृहरे सुरकामसदाविमुखाः
परिपूर्णकृपारसमग्नतरा विलसन्ति हसन्ति हरे समुखाः ॥१९॥

भवनाशनशासनशङ्खगदाधरभीहर नाथ समुद्धर तं
नृपभूपमिव द्रुतमेव महावनमध्यविराजितकूपगतम् ।
गगनाभ्रनभःखनभःश्रुतिनागमितं भवशा(सा)गरजन्मगतं
मनसा वचसा सहसा बत येन भवत्पदपङ्कयुगं न धृतम् ॥२०॥

जननी जनका(?)च वशौ भवतो मम संसृतिसंहरणौ चरणौ
भगिनी भवतस्तनुरेव विभौ सुखदा शुभदाऽमृतदा भरणौ ।
नयने रुचिरे तनयौ विहितौ भवतो हृदि भावनया भरणौ
श्रवणं मननं भवदाय(व?)हरौ विषयानलतापसदाहरणौ ॥२१॥

न गया सममानि मया दयया भवतः परयाऽभयया मधुरा
अमरा अपि ते पदकञ्जधरा भ्रमरा इव नाथ न ते सुतरा ।
सकलाघहराऽमृतपुञ्जकरा तव पादपरा न तथा मधुरा
भवसिन्धुमगाधमिमं हि तरन्ति तवैव भवद्दययैव नराः ॥२२॥

भजनं जननी तव भक्तिरियं मम शो(सो)दरमात्मसूत सुतं
मननश्रवणस्मरणादिकसद्धनधामसभाकरणे विनतम् ।
नियमासनमानसशासनशा(सा)मसुखादिकशं(सं)ततिशौ(सौ)ख्यहितं
सुतबन्धुकलत्रमहामदमोहमहारिपुसंयुगमध्यरतम् ॥२३॥

कमलाधव नाथ महारिपुनाथ तथा वलिनाथ मृताहरणे
सकलेश्वर हे अमरेश्वर हे जगदीश्वर हे ममताकरणे ।
वसुधाधर भाधर साधर हे विनताधर योगिहृदारमणे
जनभीहर धीहर भक्तहृदो नतिरस्तु सदा भवतश्चरणे ॥२४॥

भवतः श्रुतितः श्रवणाम्बुधिमध्यगतो मननं तरिमाकलयन्
भवदीयमहागुणवर्णनयुक्तमनोदृढधीवरतो वलयन् ।
महदादिकवेदगरुम्मिततत्त्वविचारविरक्तिजले रटयन्
भवदीयशु(सु)चाक्षुषरत्नमहो सुलभे हृदिदं चरणे नमयन् ॥२५॥

भ्रमता भ्रमरेण भुवं सरसा मनसा विरसं कमलं प्रचुरं
विषयं रसता क्षणभङ्गुरमोहमहामदकायमहामधुरम् ।
दिवसा गमिता नसिता न भवच्चरणा रटितं हि मृषा विधुरं
चरणद्वयकञ्जगलन्मकरन्दरसाहरणं न कृतं सुचिरम् ॥२६॥

अनुरागवलन्मनसा न कृतः करपङ्कजतः कुसुमावचयः
रसनामधितिष्ठिति पुत्रकलत्ररशा(सा)दिह ते न गुणप्रचयः ।
चरणौ चलतो न गृहं भवतो न ट(द ?)शोस्तव रूपमयूष(ख)चयः
मम नाथ तथा कुरु ते भजनेऽमृततुल्यतरे मृतकस्य न यः ॥२७॥

जनिते (तो?) जनकेन विभो भवता धरणीधर नाथ मनस्तनयः
निवृतिं दयिताञ्च विहाय शठो भजते प्रकृतिं गणिकामवयः ।
घटते विटधूर्तगणे विषये न भवन्तमयं मनुतेऽविनयः
तदयं परितिष्ठतु वद्धतरस्तव भक्तिसुरज्जुवशादभयः ॥२८॥

यदि वालक एव विराजसि जि(जी)व तदा हरिनाम पयः पिव रे
मधुपो भवसीह यदा तरुणो मधु नाथपदाब्जभवं पिव रे ।
रट मा नट मा पठ मा शठ मा वद मा गद मा रद मा शृणु रे
अवलोऽतरुणो भव एव सखे न कदापि हरेः पदतश्चल रे ॥२९॥

न तरिर्न गुणा न च धीवर एव न वा तर एव न मे शरणं
वदसीति असी(शी)तिवयः कथमद्य तरामि मनः शृणु रे वचनम् ।
हरिभक्तितरिर्गुण एव हरे हरिधीवर एव रणं शरणं
तरिदण्ड इह प्रचुरं श्रवणं श(स)ततं मननं न तथा पणनम् ॥३०॥

यदि शे(से)वितुमिक्ष(च्छ)सि चित्त नथं ब्रज श(स)त्वरमेव विवेकनृपं
नियमासनयामशमादिचमूविजितप्रभुमोहमहो सुखपम् ।
मुदिताकरुणासुसखि(खी)सहितोपनिषद्वनिताकरपल्लवयं
तदयञ्च करिष्यति शे(से)वकमेव महाहरिभक्तिपुरि(रीं)नरपम् ॥३१॥

तृणशीतसमं मृगनीरसमं नभसः कुशु(सु)मेन समं विफलं
वपुरेतदनित्यमहो सुतबन्धुकलत्रयुतं विषयैः समलम् ।
परिभावयदन्तसमं वयसोऽपि चलं·····नलवत्तरलं
तदहो परिशा(सा)धय धामपथं हरिपादश(स)रोजरथं विमलम् ॥३२॥

यदि दीर्णमनेन हृदा न वपुर्ज्वलदग्निगतं च विलोकयता
तदहं परिवेद्मि विभो विहितं श(स)दृशं दृषदा विधिना भवता ।
अधुना भ्रमरं प्रकृतीदमये क्रियतामुपलं सकलं सृजता
ह्रियता वपुषो ममतापदपद्मगलन्मकरन्दरसं पिबता ॥३३॥

किमु तेषु सुतेषु जनेषु कुचेषु मुखेषु रतेषु रतिं कुरुषे
य इमे जनकं जहति द्रुतमेव मृतं विरमाशु हरौ पुरुषे ।
वहलं पललं रुधिरं च कुचे न रतिं कुरु रे रुधिरौघमुखे
कललं श्रवदस्ति यतो हि रतान्न कुत्रादि भवेद् भवतो हि सुखे ॥३४॥

श्रवणे रुचिरस्ति मनः शृणु रे हरिकीर्तनजन्यगुणानखिलान्
यदि रूपविलोकनतत्परता सुविलोकय नाथलसच्चरणान् ।
यदि गन्ध रुचिर्नसि धारय रे हरिपादसुपूजितपुष्पचयान्
मनसा हरिमेव चिरं परिचिन्तय चिन्तय मा विषयान् सकलान् ॥३५॥

सुतबन्धुकलत्रमहाकुकुरध्वनिधावनतो रिपुशाखिघने
दृढजालसुमध्यगतो विमनाः सुमना हरिणो भवसीह वने ।
रसरूपसुगन्धनभोगुणजन्तुमहन्मुखसिंहसुशोभिरणे
हरिपादसुभक्तिसुकर्तृकपापरि(चि ?)भेदनतो लस देवगणे ॥३६॥

न जपो न तपो नरपो बहुशः श्रित एव कथं शमनं हि सहे
न हरिर्जपितो नमितोऽपि कदा रमितो विषयो जनुरेव वहे ।
कलिता रतिरेव मया श(स)ततं जन हे धन हे मति हे क्व तिहे(?)
धरणीधरनाथकृपावशतः सकलं मृगनीरसमं विरहे ॥३७॥

जनको जननी वसुमित्रकलत्रसुपुत्रमरातिकुलं सकलं
शयनस्फुरणेन समं परिभातमिदं बत जागरणे विफलम् ।
कथमद्य मृषा परिरक्तमहो मम चित्तमिदं रमते विकलं
भजते न परं भवनाशकरं श(स)कलं प्रचुरं शरणं विमलम् ॥३८॥

विफलीकुरु तत्त्वकृतं सकलं सफलीकुरु तत्त्वमसीति विषं
रिपवस्तव भेदपि(यि ?)तृप्रचुरं मदमोहसुखादि विहाय रुषम् ।
यदनेन मृताः ससुताः परिवारयुना जगतीह तदेशसुखं
सुलभं भगवच्चरणं सुलभा लयमुक्तिपुणी सकलं विसुखम् ॥३९॥

हरिभक्तिपुरीह वसन् सुमनो हरिकीर्तनसद्म शुभं रचयन्
लयसद्धनसङ्ग्रहणेन गृहं परिपूरय चित्तसुतं द्रढयन् ।
परिबोधसुतप्रचुरोदयसंविहितेन परं तमतो गुणयन्
परिपूरितसद्मधनव्ययतो हरिलीनतरो भव संघटयन् ॥४०॥

गुणवृद्ध मनो मम रे कुपुरे गतमस्ति सुखं च तथा विसुखं
नवरन्ध्रयुते पवनीभवदेव कदापि भवे न(र्न)ततो विमुखम् ।
यदि निर्गुणतामवलम्ब्य विहारपुरीकुरुषे दयसे हि सुखं
भगवच्चरणे लयमाकलयन् न पुनर्विदधामि जनुः कलुषम् ॥४१॥

दुरदिष्ट मनो मम रे जगति भ्रमदत्र जहासि कथं रमणीं
निवृत्ति(तिं)पतिमात्ररता(तां ?)भवसागरमध्यपतज्जनतारणीम् ।
सकलेषु रतां परिवृत्तिमिमां न जहासि भवच्चलताकरणीं
जनके पुरुषे विलयं कुरु तत्सहितां प्रकृतिञ्च जहज्जननीम् ॥४२॥

मदमानखुगानखुलोभखुमोहमनोजमुखा रिपवः प्रबलाः
यदि सन्ति मनो जगतीह पुनः(र्)भयदा वनितापि तथा सकला ।
तदुपायमहं कथयामि शृणु प्रथमं क्रियताञ्च मतिर्विमला
अनयैव पिशाचीं(चि)कया स्थिरया मृत(?)एव भवद्रिपवः कुटिलाः ॥४३॥

करुणानिधयस्तव सन्ति विभो करुणानिधिमर्पय दासजने
अधमोद्धरणं कुरुषे यदि नाथ तथाऽधम एव जनो(नो ?)भुवने ।
शरणं शरणार्थिजनाय ददासि तदा गत एष जनः शरणे
भवसागरपारविधायक एव तथा जन एष रतश्चरणे ॥४४॥

अस(श)नं वसनं शयनं रटनं पठनं विषये रहितं चलनं
यदि वाञ्छसि रे जगतीह मनो मम पथ्यमिदं शृणु रे(मद्)वचनम् ।
अस(श)ने फलमेव तथा वसने त्वगियं शयने धरणीलुठनं
रटने हरिमन्दिरमेव तथा पठने हरिनाम गमे गहनम् ॥४५॥

भवकूपमिमं पतितोऽसि कथं विषयप्रचुरोदकभीमतरं
मदमोहसुतादिमहारिपुभिः परिपातित एव गभीरतरम् ।
तदुपायमहं त्वरितं कथयामि शृणुष्व हृदा हितमेव परं
पतितोद्धरणं भगवच्चरणं शृ(श्रि)त एव समुत्तर शि(शी)घ्रतरम् ॥४६॥

गलिता रदना ललिता विशदा रुचिराशिचकुराः प्रचुरा[ः]पतिताः
भजते लगुडं त[व]पाणियुगं विषयादिकृता ममता न गता ।
नयनं त्रि(ति)मिरैः खचितं परिभाति न भाति भवत्तिमिरावृतता
त्रिवलीपरिबन्धमवाप कपोलयुगं न मनस्तव बन्धनता ॥४७॥

सकलं विषयावृतमेव विभाति निरावृत्ति(ति)रे भगवच्चरणं
प्रकृतेर्विकृतं जगदेव विभाति तथा[ऽ]विकृतं भगवद्भजनम् ।
अतएव कुरुष्व तदेव पुनः पुनरेव यतो न जरामरणं
न भविष्यति तासु पुनः सकलासु कुयोनिसुयोनिषु ते भ्रमणम् ॥४८॥

यदि यापयसीह दिनानि तदा परियापय नाथमठक्रमणे
प्रकृतिं विकृतिं च विहाय मनः परिचिन्तय सम्प्रति तच्चरणे ।
प्रकृतिर्विकृतिर्वितता परिभाति यतो भवतो हि जनुर्मरणे
तदिदं सकलञ्च मृषा परिभावय भावय नाथ पदं तरणे ॥४६॥

धिगिदं मन एव यतश्चरमेऽपि वयःक्रमणे प्रकृतिं भजते
न हरिं मनुते तरुणं वपुरेतदहो''न पुनस्त्रपते ।
तदधीनतया नवमे च भवद्विषये विषये प्रचुरं रमते
नटभण्डकभट्टगणेषु गृहेषु रतिं विपुलां श(स)ततं तनुते ॥५०॥

हरिकि(की)र्तन एव विधेहि रतिं न च धेहि सुतादिजनेषु मतिं
जननीजठरे शयनं यत एव ततः खलु तेषु न धेहि यतिम् ।
हरिपादश(स)रोजयुगेषु रतिं कुरुनेन(?)कुरुष्व भवेषु गतिं
अवनीधरनाथमुकुन्दहरिप्रमुषे(खे)षु च नामसु धेहि नतिम् ॥५१॥

यदि चञ्चलतामयनाशकृते भिषजं लभते न गदौघहरं
तदहं कथयामि महाभिषजं हरिमेव महामयनाशकरम् ।
लश(स)दङ्घ्रिसरोजयुगद्वयभक्तिरसं रसमेव ददामि परं
चलतारुजमाशु हरन्नपि किञ्च हरिष्यति तापगदं प्रचुरम् ॥५२॥

यदि नन्तुमना अमरं कमपीह तदा नम रे हरिपद्युगलं
गमनागमनप्रदमेव परं सृतिसौख्यकरं मृतिदं श(स)कलम् ।
रजसा सहितं तमसा वलितं दितिजाकलितं कलय त्वमलं
गमनागमनामयनाशकरं दुरितौघ[ह]रं रुचिरं तदलम् ॥५३॥

भवभीममहाघनसद्विपिने सुतबन्धुकलत्रलसद्धरिणे
रसरूपसुगन्धनिनादवलद्ध(?)कनाशितसद्व्रतिबालगणे ।
हरिभक्तिभुजाल[क]म(मा)श्रित एव मृगाधिपतेर्मनसो हनने
यमसंनियमप्रमुखैः सह रे मृगयी(यो?)कुरु तन्न भयं गहने ॥५४॥

अतिनश्वर एव सुखे मम जीव विहाय कथं हरिनाथपदं
भ्रमसीह भवेऽभवदं भयदेऽभयदं भृतिदे भृती(ति)दं सुखदम् ।
जननी यत एव परा निवृतिर्जनको यत एव विवेकतरः
अनुजो यत एव महासुखदो मिलतीह परं परिबोधतरः ॥५५॥

ननु रे हरिरेव परं परमस्त्वमपीह बभूविथ सच्चरमः
तदपि प्रचुरं विषये विरसे यतसे बहुधा रमसे रसमः ।
अभिमानलसद्गजकुम्भगतो मनुषे न जगत् सकलेष्वसम-
स्तनुषे गुणगौरवमेव सभामभितो न नतोऽसि महानधमः ॥५६॥

सति सम्प्रति ते ददति स्वपदं कमलाधिपतौ सुमतौ पुरुषे
जगतामधिपे मनसा कलिते सहसा वलिते च हरौ सुमुखे ।
सकलेप्सितसिद्धिकरे दुरितौघहरे विमले सकलेऽकलुखे(षे)
अधमे रतिमद्य कथं कुरुषे मतिमूढ मनः कुजने विमुखे ॥५७॥

हरिपादश(स)रोजगलन्मकरन्दकृते तरला भ्रमरा अमराः
वद मानसभृङ्ग कथं रसिताः क्षणिका विषयाः कमलप्रकराः ।
नटनाटकशाटकचेटककर्तृ विटेशसुकीटविजू(जु?)ष्टतराः
शुचितो रुचितो रसतो गुणतो जनसन्ततितोऽपी(पि)च हीनतराः ॥५८॥

शृणु पुण्यनदीतटसत्तरङ्गधरामधिगम्य नटो भव रे
हरिकि(की)र्तिनटीसहितो हरिनामसमाजगतो नटनं कुरु रे ।
हरिसद्गुणगानमलं विदधद् विहसन्मुखमद्य परं लस रे
अथ दास्यति ते परितोषकृतंऽमृतरत्नमयं च सुखि(खी)भव रे ॥५९॥

रमणीयतराणि बहूनि वनानि लसन्ति च तत्र"""(गृहान् रचय ?)
रचय श्रवणेन मनः समृदा म[न]नेन तृणेन कुरुष्व दृढान् ।
उपरि स्मरणेन लश(स)द्बलभीधरणेन विधेहि च संवलितान्
अमृतं तदहो व्यवहृत्य लश(स)द्धरिनामधनैः कुरु सम्भरितान् ॥६०॥

यमुनातटकुञ्जकुटीरगतं मुरलीमधुरध्वनिमञ्जिनुतं
व्रजगोपवधूजनहक्कमलैः परिपीतमुखं व्रजबालयुतम् ।
अनी(ति)ति(ती)क्ष्णकटाक्षचलच्छरतः परिविद्धलश(स)द्व्रजसद्वनितं
वृषभानुसुतानयने खचितं भज रे सततं वसुदेवसुतम् ॥६१॥

भवतापतपद्वपुषः सुजनाः हरिपादश(स)रोजलसन्नयनाः
अतिनिर्मलरूपरसादिमहाविषयारिमुकुन्दकथाश्रवणाः ।
भगवज्जनसङ्गकृतः सततं नरकान्तकतीर्थकथाश्रवणाः
अतिशान्तसुनिर्मलचित्सुखसज्जलयुक्तिनदीकृतसन्तरणा [:] ॥६२॥

जनको जननी न सुतो वनिता जनता[न]च बन्धुजनः कमिता
भवतापहनै(रै ?)व गमिष्यति तत्कथमेषु जनेषु पुनर्भ्रमिता ।
न च तैरपि साकमहो नियतं न कदापि परं न भवा(वे)श्चलिता
हरिनाम सहाय इहातितरां यमसद्मनि वैभवतो भविता ॥६३॥

तव मूर्ध्नि(र्धनि) मृत्युरयं भुजगो विदधाति पदञ्च करालतरा
भुजगीव जरा दशति प्रचुरं विषयैश्च विषैरपि पूर्णतरा ।
असु(सु)री वत संसृतिराग्रसते च भवन्तमियं खलु घोरतरा
तदहो हरिनाममहामनुमेव जपस्व मतो न च भीतिकरा ॥६४॥

विषयः कति वा न गता निधयः पतयः सुरलोककृतां पतयः
मनवो मुनयः कति वा न मृता धरणीपतयो वनसम्द(दृग ?)तयः ।
तदपीह कथं भवतः सुतबन्धुकलत्रजनेषु लश(स)द्रतयः
अतिनिर्मलसचि(च्चि)दनन्तमहिम्नि हरौ करणीयतरा मतयः ॥६५॥

वणिते सुमते परुषे पुरुषे कुसुखे कुरुषे कथमद्य पतिं
पुरुषञ्च विहाय नतोपनिषत्करुणा मुदिता न करोति गतिम् ।
प्रथमं सुसखीभिरमूभिरलं विहरस्व यतस्व लभस्व रतिं
तदनन्यविवेकधवे सुनवे मिलिता रसिता च विधेहि रतिम् ॥६६॥

ध्रुवमेव महीगिरिनीरधिचन्द्रदिवाकरदेवमृतिर्भविता
इति किं मनसीह विचारयिता न कदापि भवादमुतश्चलिता ।
क्षणिकैरपि मित्रकुबन्धुजनै[ः]सह संगतिरद्य कथं लसिता
तदनन्तलश(स)त्द(द्रुम ?)[ग]वत्पदभक्तिविधौ सततं भव सम्पतिता ॥६७॥

तट(टि)नीगतभूमी(मि)रुहामिव सम्प्रति भाति विदूरविमुक्तिरी(रि)यं
पथि सञ्चरतामिव खे चरतामिव पुत्रकलत्रसुयुक्तिरी(रि)यम् ।
जलधौ चरतामिव नौर्वणिजां पथि सु(शु)क्तिलश(स)द्व्रजतोक्तिरी(रि)यं
तदहो हरिपादसरोजसुसेवनतो भवतो हि सुमुक्तिरी(रि)यम् ॥६८॥

कृतया सुतमित्रकलत्रजनैररिभिर्बत संसृतिवागुरया
कथमद्य मनोमृगरूपरसादिवने परिवद्धतरो दृढया ।
यदि मोचनशोचनतो हि विषि(पी)दसि किं परयाऽमलया कथया
अधुना परिकृत्य सुखी भव रे भगवत्पदभक्तिसुकर्तृकया ॥६९॥

गमनागमनं कतिधा न कृतं न धृतं भवता भगवच्चरणं
अत एव मनः श्रमवत्सततं न नतं तदपि श्रमसंहरणम् ।
यदि वाञ्छसि रे श्रमजन्यमहातपनाशकमासु(शु)महत्करणं
तदहो हरिनामसुधारसधामसुकाम पिब प्रचुरं शरणम् ॥७०॥

जपतामनुसञ्चर संरटतामटनं मटतो भटतश्चलतां
चलनं च विधेहि तथा भजनं हरिपादश(स)रोजयुगं भजताम् ।
नटनं नटतां भगवच्चरणस्य पुरो लुठनञ्च तथा लुठतां
पठनं हरिनाम परं पठतां रशनं भगवद्रसमारसताम् ॥७१॥

गमनं तु कृतं न कृतं हरिसद्मनि सम्भजनं न हरेर्भजनं
पठनं तु कृतं न हरेर्वचसां शरणं तु कृतं न हरेः शरणम् ।
नटनं तु कृतं न हरेः पुरतो रटनं तु कृतं न मदे रटनं
तदिदं च वृथैव गतं सुजनुः कुजनुर्मम सम्प्रति किङ्करणम् ॥७२॥

कतिधा सहगैर्विषयैः समपि(पी)डि भवान् क्षणिकैरपि सञ्चलितः
विषयेषु च तेषु परं रमसे यतसे च तदर्थमलं रसितः ।
सहसे बहुधा कटु तद्वचनं न कदापि च सङ्गवशाच्चलितः
तदहो भगवज्जनसङ्गगतोऽचलितो रसितो वलितो मुदितः ॥७३॥

किमकारि परारिपरत्कदनं भवतो न सुतप्रमुखैः परुषं
अधुना पुनरेव वलन् कुरुषे कथमद्य च तैः कुसुतैश्च सुखम् ।
परिपि(पो)डित एव कदापि न तेषु जनेषु भवेषु करोषि रुषं
तदहो सुविरक्तिसुखं कलयन् त्यज सम्प्रति रे सकलं कलुषम् ॥७४॥

इयमिन्दुमुखी परिपश्यति मामिति किं मनसा बहुशो मनुते
मलपङ्कवशा(सा)रुधिरप्रयुता पलजौघमुखी न घृणोदयते ।
तरलप्रचुरप्रलश(स)त्कुचयुग्मकुपिण्डसुखे बहुधा रमते
तदलं सकलं विजहत्सुविरक्तिवधु(धू)सुखमद्य न सन्तनुते ॥७५॥

इह मानसतीर्थलश(स)द्धरिनामजले हरिभक्तिलश(स)त्कमले
सुविरक्तिपराऽचलदिष्टकया(था ?)रचितप्रबलत्सुतटे विमले ।
गरुडध्वजहंसविराजिनि सै(शै)वलतुल्यतमोरहिते रसले
प्रयतः कुरु सज्जन मज्जनमासु(शु)चिराय विहाय सृतौ कुजले ॥७६॥

इह भूमी(मि)रुहे पतगौ रसतौ लश(स)तो न कदापि ततो व्रजतः
परमौ सुरमौ सुश(ष)मौ सुयुजौ न कदापि वियोगमिमौ कुरुतः ।
कतरः पतगो विषयैकरसं परमत्ति परोऽनशनः स्थिरतः
तदहो अनयोनशनं(?)चिदनन्तरसैकरसं भजते विनतः ॥७७॥

सुतमित्रकलत्रकुबन्धुजनस्मरणं सततं भवता क्रियते
अशने शयने गमने पठने रटने बत तैश्च पुनर्म्रियते ।
उदरं परिताडयता रुदता कुधिया न कदापि मनो धि(ध्रि)यते
तदिमान् सकलान् परितापकरान् जहता न विरक्तिरहो म्रियते ॥७८॥

वणि(नि)ता मुदिता रसिता कतिधा रसरूपभरैर्भरिता गणिता
नरधूर्तविदूषकसङ्गवसे(शे)न पुनर्भवना सखिता रचिताः(ता ?) ।
खलदुष्टदुरीशकुवाङ्मनसा च धृता कुलिशावलिशं(सं)तुलिता
न हरिर्हरिभक्तजनो विदितो नरके नरके च गर्ति(ति)र्भविता ॥७९॥

गणना नृपसद्मनि काममचित्तसुवित्तचये ये(?)किमु का मनना
सुकुटुम्बजनेऽपि सभाकरणेऽपि रणेऽपि च का रुचिरा करणा ।
विदुषां भवने प्र(य)तिनां गणने कृती(ति)नां सुकृतेऽपि च का घटना
तदिमा जनुरन्तरदाः सकलाः(ला)हरिभक्तिजने गणना गणना ॥८०॥

तनयैरनयैरधुना श(स)ततं क्षुभितोऽपि च तेषु परं रमसे
क्षणमात्रविलासिनी(नि)शासिनि मित्रकलत्रजने बहुधा यतसे ।
अरिदुष्टक्षुरीस(श)मुखं जठराय रटन् सुनटत्ववलोकयसे
अतिदुर्लभमानुषजन्मगतो भगवन्तमतोऽपि न सम्भजसे ॥८१॥

अनिदं जगदेतदतत्प्रतिभाति च यन्त्रजालिकवद्विहरत्
अनदोऽपि प्रतीहि सुरज्जुभुजङ्गमबु(धु)द्धिवचस्तितया(?)त्रिलसत् ।
कथमत्र विलासिधियं विदधासि पुनर्दिवि पुष्पसमं विकसत्
तदहो हरिपादपयोजसुराधम(य)तो न बहिः कुरु हृद् विचलत् ॥८२॥

रसरूपमहाविषयैररिभिः कतिभिर्भवकूपमिमां गमितः
हरिनामसुकामदवर्त्मनि सम्प्रचलन्म(न्न)निशं सहसोत्पतितः ।
परिमज्जसि सङ्गत एव कथं तत आगमने भव सम्पतितः
हरिभक्तिसुरज्जुमधिश्रित एव भव द्रुतमेव जलोत्कलितः ॥८३॥

भवसान्द्रमहावनमध्यगतः कथमेभिरमीभिरहा कुमृगैः,
विषयैः सहितैर्वणि(नि)तासुतवन्धुमुखद्विपी(पि)नां च गणैर्नरगैः ।
परितोऽसि वृतोऽसि कदापि पुनर्न गतोऽसि मृतोऽसि महाभयदैः
तदहो हरिनाममहाहरिभिः शरणैरभयो भव सत्सुखदैः ॥८४॥

अटवी भगवज्जनसङ्गतिरत्र महाविटपी भगवत्पुरुषः,
भगवद्‌यशसा पयसा विमलेन परं परिपुनि(पूरि)तसत्परिखः ।
फलति प्रचुरं हरिनामफलं हरिभक्तिरसं सदतींवसुखः,
विषयक्षुधया तृषया (परिपु(पू)रित भु(भुं)क्ष्व फलं श(स)ततं सुसुखः ॥८५॥

शृणु चित्त सुधि(धी)वर धीवर किं भवभीमनदे मकरादिगतौ
प्लवनं कुरुषे विचलद्‌विषयोरगजातसुधीवरजातिमृतौ ।
हरिनाममहामकरग्रहवद्‌धरिभक्तिसुकि(कीं)र्तितरङ्गगतौ
प्रवनं तरणं सरितां च पतौ कुरु तत्र सुखेन महाचि(वि)रतौ ॥८६॥

भवनीरसभूमी(मि)रुहे हसिता फलिता नवपल्लविता न तता
न तता गुणिनो भ्रमराः सुतमित्रकलत्रमुखा [ः] कृमयो विरता[ः] ।
तदमुं जहता भवता विरसं विषयैः सकलैरतिहर्षयता
बहुनामफलैः सरसैः सहिते क्रियतां हरिभूमी(मि)रुहे सखिता ॥८७॥

भवसागर' 'मना यदि मे मम जीव शृणुष्व हितं वचनं
शिरसो निजभारमिमं सकलं त्यज पानकृते कुरु नो रचनम् ।
भवभीममहार्णवमध्यगतः सममज्जदसौ धृतसम्भरणः
अपनीतशिरोनिजभारभरः स तु पारगतः कृतसन्तरणः ॥८८॥

भवभीममहाम्बुधिपारनिषेधककाममहामदमोहमुखाः
तटिनीपतिपूर्वतटादपरं न तटं गमयन्ति कदापि रुषा ।
भ्रमतां यदि यान्ति तटं त्वपरं न चलन्ति पुनर्द्दढबन्धनगाः
हरिनामसुचिह्नितपत्रवता सुतरन्ति जना भवतः सुखगाः ॥८९॥

वपुषः कति वा न भवन्ति तथा विलसत्पटुकीटगणास्तरलाः
जनुरन्तरतत्तदनन्तफलाभिनिवेशलसन्मतय(यः)कुटिलाः ।
कथमेषु निधाय तनूजधियं विलपन्ति जनाः सततं विकला [:]
तदहो भगवच्चरणं भजतां भवतां दिवसाः परियान्त्वमलाः ॥६०॥

विषयानुगमे क्रि(कृ)मी(मि)कीटपतङ्गजनुर्जगति प्रचुरं गलितं
कलयिष्यति किञ्च पुनर्जननं मरणं मम जीव सभावलितम् ।
न भविष्यन्ति(ति) दुर्लभमत्र मनुष्यजनुर्हरिभक्तिकरं रसितं
तदिहानुगमं च विहाय परं हरिभक्तमनुव्रज रे सततम् ॥६१॥

विषयातिकरालभुजङ्गमसङ्गमतो न बिभेषि कथं कुमते
यदि दैववशात् कुपितेन च तेन विषेण सुदंशन एव कृते ।
मरणं जननं पुनरेव पुनर्मम चित्त कुयोनिषु योनी(नि)षु ते
तदलं भगवन्निजनाममनुं जप रे स(श)यने गमने सतते ॥६२॥

न जनुर्द्विजभूमी(मि)परो' 'रधुना मधुनाशनभक्तिरतः
कलये न ममोरपि(?)देव तनोरपि नो भगवन् भवदङ्घ्रिनतः ।
परये जनुरेव भवेदपि मे नियतं यदि नाथ शृणुष्व ततः
कथये तव सेवकसेवकजन्म मुहुर्मुहुरेव यतः स्पृहये ॥६३॥

चिकुरा रुचिरा अपि ते विशदा रसदा रसना अपि ते गलिताः
ललिता न तथापि महाकटुतो भवतो भवतो हि रतिर्विगता ।
भगवन्निजभक्तिरसे सरशे(से)मधुरे प्रचुरे न रतिं ददता
सततंभवता भवता कवलीकृ(क्रि)यते भवलीलसुखं भ्रमता ॥६४॥

कटुतारसताजनभाषणता जहता निजशान्तिरसं रसता
दिवशा(सा)न् परियापयता विजने विजने भवने रतिमावहता ।
स्वमिमं परिचिन्तयता न च किञ्चिदनेकजनेषु दयां दधतां(ता)
भ्रियतां भगवच्चरणद्वयपङ्कजमेव व(म)नोमटमारटता ॥६५॥

सरितां पुलिने क्रियतां भवनं क्रियतां शुभसङ्गसुतादियुतं
परवञ्चनमोहमहोरगयुक्तविलं सुविलं मृतिदं विगतम् ।
स्त्रियतां भगवन्निजनामधनं भ्रियतां कृपणीभवता व्यथितं
यदनेन भवद्गमने परसद्मनि वर्त्मनि भुक्तिसुखं च तत् [ततम् ?] ॥९६॥

दलयन् मदमत्तमतङ्गजकुम्भयुगं हरिनामलश(स)त्सृणी(णि)ना
कलयन् परमां निर्वृतिं च पुनर्भगवन्निजभक्तिमहामणिना ।
स्फुटयन् सदयं हृदयं कमलं विमलं हरिकीर्तनतो रविना
विरम क्वचिदेव चिदेव हरिं रसयन् सततं मनसा कविना ॥९७॥

ममतारसताजनभाषणताखलताभ्रमयो मनसा चलिता[:]
सुतवन्धुकलत्रसुमित्रसुशत्रमहामकरा अपि संविहता[:] ।
अतिखेदविभेदतरङ्गवलत्तरयोऽपि मनो मम रे गमिता :]
तदहो हरिनाथकृपावशतो रसतो भवसागरपारमिता[:] ॥९८॥

विचरन् विचरन् पुरुषोत्तमसन्निधिमद्य गतो विरम प्रचुरं
रुचिरं भगवच्चरणं परिचिन्तय चित्त चिरं सकलाघहरम् ।
विनिवेदितमेव परं कवलं कवलं विपणौ विपणौ मधुरं
परिभु[ङ्]क्ष्व सुखेन सु(शु)नः स्व(श्व)पचोऽपि मुखाद् गलितं भ्रमिनाशकरम् ॥९९॥

कतिधा कथितं भगवत्पुरतः कथितं कतिधा च भवत्पुरतः
कथितेन मया यदुदेति विरक्तिरहो शृणु सम्प्रति संनियतः ।
विदिशश्च दिशं विचरन् विचरन् विजह [द्] गृहसङ्गतिमाभरतः
तदिदं सकलं निज आत्मनि भावय सत्पुरुषोत्तमधामगतः ॥१००॥

इमा दुर्मिला दूतिका यस्य हस्ते कृता श्रीत्रिलोकेन नाथोद्भवेन ।
विरक्त्या सुसं(स ?)ख्या युता मुक्तिरूपा नवीना वधूस्तस्य हस्तं गता स्यात् ॥१०१॥

शाके शास्त्रेन्दुसप्तोदधिसुतमितिगे नाथनामान्तवैद्यो-
द्भूतस्त्रैलोक्यनाथो निखिलबुधजनान् सङ्गमा[?]तापतप्तान् ।
दृष्ट्वा त्रापीव्य(र्व्य)धत्त प्रचुरहरिरसा दुर्मिलावद्धतीर्थाः
सद्रत्नैर्नामभिस्तै[र्]विमलमतिधृतैर्यानि लोकान् पनन्ति ॥१०२॥

इति श्रीसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिनि(नी)राजितचरणपङ्कजश्रीमिश्रवैद्यनाथात्मजश्रीत्रिलोकनाथमिश्र-कृतं दुर्मिलाशतकं समाप्तम् ।

श(स)म्वत् १९३० अग्रहणकृष्णपञ्चमीरवौ विहारिणाऽलेखि ।

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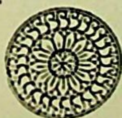
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